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CHRONICLES

OF THE HOUSE OF

WILLOUGHBY DE ERESBY.

Compiled from Histories of England, Peerages, and other authentic sources

BY

THE HONBLE. ELIZABETH HEATHCOTE DRUMMOND WILLOUGHBY.

ILLUSTRATED WITH ANCIENT COATS OF ARMS AND MONUMENTS, ALSO WITH PORTRAITS FROM THE ORIGINALS IN POSSESSION OF THE FAMILY.

1017243

LONDON:
NICHOLS & SONS, 25, PARLIAMENT STREET, S.W.

MDCCCXCVI.

Willoughby, E S
Chronicles of the House of
Willoughby de Eresby

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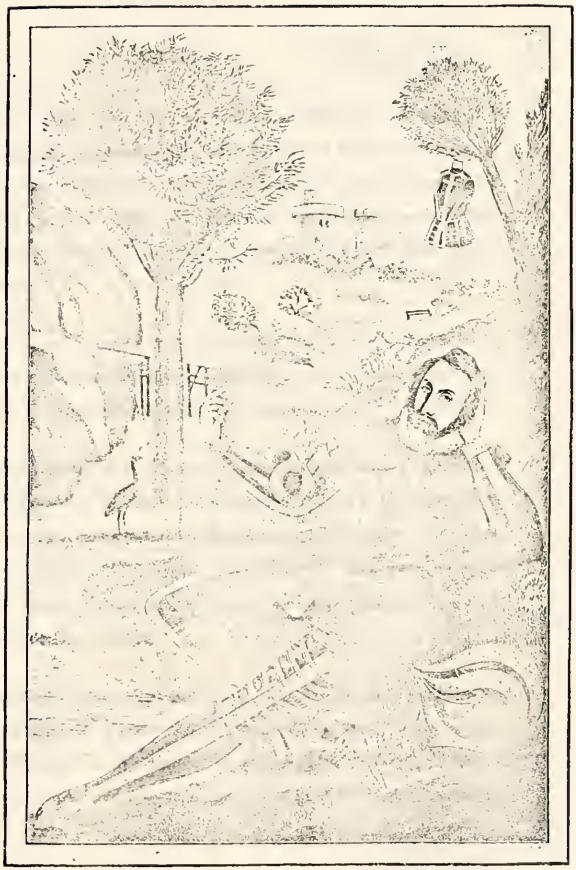
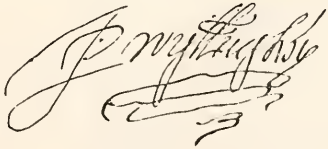
CHRONICLES

OF THE HOUSE OF

WILLOUGHBY DE ERESBY.



Peregrine Bertie, Eleventh Lord Willoughby.



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PREFACE.

IN the preparation of these "Chronicles of the House of Willoughby de Eresby," I have found it necessary to consult a very large number of Works, from some of which the extracts which follow have been arranged, with the view of showing the important Historical events in which the holders of the Willoughby de Eresby Title have from time to time taken part, all of which extracts have been verified at the British Museum.

In the notices about the Duchess of Suffolk, words are taken from an original Edition of Fox's "Book of Martyrs," and, with other quotations, are given as specimens of old spelling, but many palpable errors have been corrected.

I am greatly indebted to the family of Lady Georgina Bertie (Authoress of "Five Generations of a Loyal House") and to the Publishers of the Works from which quotations have been made, for so kindly granting me permission to use whatever portions I have needed. The extracts from Motley's "United Netherlands" and Lady Theresa Lewis's "Lives of the Friends of Lord Clarendon" are made by special permission of Mr. Murray.

Since completing these Chronicles, Gilbert, 2nd Lord Aveland, has succeeded to the title of Willoughby de Eresby as XXI. Baron, at the death of our mother, November 13th, 1888, and on the 15th of September, 1892 was created Earl of Ancaster. His eldest son, Gilbert, now bears the title of Lord Willoughby de Eresby.

E. H. D. W.

4, Belgrave Square, S.W.

The Lineage is drawn up from the extracts recording each Baron and Baroness Willoughby, and to show their direct descent

The arms of their Wives' and Husbands' families are given on the under named authorities

Willoughby Lady Georgina Bertie "Five Generations of a Loyal House" p. 64

Beke Lady Georgina Bertie "Five Generations of A Loyal House" p. 64

Dancourt Nicholas Harris Nicolas, Esq.re "Siege of Carlaverock: A translation of a French Poem, Le Siege de Karlaverok" p. 56.

Roscelene Sir Albert Woods Garter King of Arms Drawn for Baroness Willoughby in 1872

de Ufford Lady Georgina Bertie "Five Generations of a Loyal House" p. 64

Shepwith "The Union of Honour" collected by James Yorke of Lincoln's Blacksmith London, Printed by E. Griffin, 1640

le Strange Nicolas's "Siege of Carlaverock" p. 24 called on p. 38 le Estrange called Strange in Sir Bernard Burke Ulster King of Armsticlage for 1882 p. 1370.

Montacute "The Institution, Laws & Ceremonies of the most Noble Order of the Garter" collected by Elias Ashmole, Esq.re Windsor Herald at Arms, Printed by J. Macock, 1672.

Arundell Sir Albert Woods Drawn in 1872

Willes Nicolas's "Siege of Carlaverock" p. 32

Tenney From the description in "The Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society's Report" Vol. 8 p. 44.

Salines Lady Georgina Bertie "Five Generations of A Loyal House" p. 280

Bertie Ashmole's "Order of the Garter"

Vere Sir Albert Woods Drawn in 1872

Montague Yorke's "Union of Honour"

Cockain John Guillim Pursuevant at Arms "A Display of Heraldry" p. 232 1724

Wray Yorke's "Union of Honour"

Wharton Yorke's "Union of Honour"

Wynn Sir Albert Woods Drawn in 1872

Brownlow Sir Albert Woods Drawn in 1872

Panton A print of Her Majesty Queen Charlotte's embarkation at Strade With a view of the Royal Yacht Inscribed to the Duke & Duchess of Ancaster by Thomas Allen

Burrell Sir Albert Woods Drawn in 1872

Drummond Sir Albert Woods Drawn in 1872

Heathcote Sir Bernard Burke's Ticlage for 1857.

Lineage of the Barons and Baronesses Willoughby. from 1313 to 1883.

SIR WILLIAM WILLOUGHBY. Died 1306.

ALICE. Daughter of JOHN BEKE 1st LORD BEKE of ERESBY and eldest co heir of her Brother WALTER LORD of ERESBY

ROBERT WILLOUGHBY, was summoned to Parliament as BARON WILLOUGHBY de ERESBY in 1313 7 Edward II Died 1316.

MARGARET. Daughter of EDMUND DEINCOURT 1st LORD DEINCOURT

JOHN WILLOUGHBY II LORD WILLOUGHBY Died 1350

JOAN Daughter and heiress of SIR THOMAS ROSCELINE, KNT.

JOHN WILLOUGHBY. III LORD WILLOUGHBY. Died 1373.

CECILIE. Daughter of ROBERT de UFFORD, EARL of SUFFOLK K.G. Sister and co heir of WILLIAM 2nd EARL

ROBERT WILLOUGHBY, IV LORD WILLOUGHBY Died 1396

ALICE. Daughter of SIR WILLIAM SKIPWITH, Knt.

WILLIAM WILLOUGHBY. V LORD WILLOUGHBY K.G. Died 1409

LUCY, Daughter of ROGER le STRANGE LORD STRANGE of KNOCKYN

THOMAS WILLOUGHBY ancestor of HENRY VERNEY, present and X LORD WILLOUGHBY de BROKE, creation by writ 1492

JOHN WILLOUGHBY ancestor of the present SIR JOHN WILLOUGHBY, V BARONET, creation 1794.

ROBERT WILLOUGHBY, VI LORD WILLOUGHBY K.G. Died 1452.

ELIZABETH, Daughter of JOHN MONTACUTE, EARL of SALISBURY

SIR THOMAS WILLOUGHBY.

JOAN Daughter and co-heir of SIR RICHARD ARENDELL, Knt

JOAN WILLOUGHBY, BARONESS WILLOUGHBY Died 1461

RICHARD WELLES, VII LORD WELLES summoned to Parliament in right of his Wife as VII LORD WILLOUGHBY beheaded 1470

SIR ROBERT WILLOUGHBY, Died 1465

CECILIE, Daughter of LEO WELLES VI LORD WELLES K.G. Sister and co-heir of RICHARD VII LORD.

ROBERT WELLES, VIII LORD WELLES and VIII LORD WILLOUGHBY beheaded 1470 S.P.

SIR ROBERT WILLOUGHBY Died 1467 S.P.

JOANE WELLES BARONESS WELLES and WILLOUGHBY Died 1506 S.P.

RICHARD HASTINGS, in right of his Wife was IX LORD WELLES and IX LORD WILLOUGHBY Died 1503

SIR CHRISTOPHER WILLOUGHBY. Died 1498-99.

MARGARET Daughter of SIR WILLIAM JENNEY of KNOTTSHALL, SUFFOLK.

WILLIAM WILLOUGHBY, X LORD WILLOUGHBY Died 1525

LADY MARY SALINES a Spaniard Maid of Honour to Queen Catherine 1st Wife of Henry VIII

CHRISTOPHER WILLOUGHBY, from whom the LORDS WILLOUGHBY of PARHAM, derived. Creation 1547 extinct 1779

THOMAS WILLOUGHBY, Ancestor of DIGBY WILLOUGHBY present and IX LORD MIDDLETON creation 1712.

KATHERINE WILLOUGHBY BARONESS WILLOUGHBY married 1st CHARLES BRANDON DUKE of SUFFOLK K.G. Died 1580

RICHARD BERTIE, ESQRE. Died 1582.

PEREGRINE BERTIE, XI LORD WILLOUGHBY Died 1601

MARY, Daughter of JOHN VERE, EARL of OXFORD, Sister and heire of the whole blood to EDWARD, XVII EARL Died 1624

ROBERT BERTIE, created EARL of LINDSEY 1626 XII LORD WILLOUGHBY K.G. killed at the Battle of Edgehill 1642

ELIZABETH only child by his 1st wife of EDWARD MONTAGU, 1st LORD MONTAGU, of BOUGHTON

MONTAGU BERTIE, II EARL of LINDSEY, XIII LORD WILLOUGHBY, K.G. Died 1666.

MARTHA Daughter of SIR WILLIAM DORMER of ROUSHAM co. Northamp. by Widow of ROBERT DEVEREUX EARL of HERTFORD. Died 1682.

BRIDGET Daughter and Heir of EDWARD WEMYSS Esqre by LADY ELIZABETH NORRIS his wife only Daughter and heir of FRANCIS, EARL of BERKSHIRE and BARON NORRIS

ROBERT BERTIE, III EARL of LINDSEY, XIV LORD WILLOUGHBY. Died 1701

ELIZABETH Daughter of PHILIP WHARTON IV LORD WHARTON.

CHARLES BERTIE, of UFFINGTON Co LINCOLN. Ancestor of MONTAGU BERTIE present and XI EARL of LINDSEY.

JAMES BERTIE, created EARL of ABINGDON in 1682. Ancestor of MONTAGU BERTIE present and VI EARL of ABINGDON.

ROBERT BERTIE created DUKE of ANCASTER and KESTEVEN in 1715 and MARQUIS of LINDSEY, in 1706 IV EARL of LINDSEY XV LORD WILLOUGHBY. Died 1725

MARY Daughter and heiress of SIR ROBERT WYNN of GWYDIR Co CARNARVON BART. Died 1720

PEREGRINE BERTIE, II DUKE of ANCASTER V EARL of LINDSEY, XVI LORD WILLOUGHBY Died 1742

JANE Daughter and co-heir of SIR JOHN BROWNLOW, EARL of BELTON Co LINCOLN

PEREGRINE BERTIE,
III DUKE of ANCASTER
VI EARL of LINDSEY
XVII LORD WILLOUGHBY
Died 1778.

MARY, Daughter of
THOMAS PANTON Esq

BROWNLOW BERTIE,
V DUKE of ANCASTER,
VIII EARL of LINDSEY
Died 1809 without an
heir male

ROBERT BERTIE,
IV DUKE of ANCASTER
VII EARL of LINDSEY
XVIII LORD WILLOUGHBY
Died 1779 S.P.

PRISCILLA BERTIE,
BARONESS WILLOUGHBY
Died 1824

PETER BURRELL,
created LORD GWYDYR
1796 Died 1820

GEORGIANA BERTIE,
married the 1st MARQUESS
of CHOLMONDELEY Mother
of HENRY 3rd and present
MARQUESS. Died 1838

PETER ROBERT
DRUMMOND BURRELL,
XX LORD WILLOUGHBY
II LORD GWYDYR took the
surname and arms of DRUMMOND in
1807 and in 1820 the additional sur
name and arms of WILLOUGHBY
instead of those of BURRELL
Died 1865

CLEMENTINA, Daughter
and sole heiress of JAMES
DRUMMOND, 19th LORD PERTH,
a dignity now extinct.
Died 1863

LINDSEY BURRELL,
Father of PETER ROBERT
present and IV LORD
GWYDYR Died 1848

ALBERIC DRUMMOND
WILLOUGHBY XXI LORD
WILLOUGHBY III LORD
GWYDYR Died 1870 S.P.

CLEMENTINA
DRUMMOND BURRELL,
BARONESS WILLOUGHBY
took in 1857 the surnames
and arms of DRUMMOND
and WILLOUGHBY. Mother
of GILBERT II LORD
AVELAND

GILBERT HEATHCOTE
created LORD AVELAND,
1856 Died 1867

CHARLOTTE AUGUSTA
DRUMMOND WILLOUGHBY,
married the 2nd LORD
CARRINGTON, Mother of
CHARLES 3rd and present
LORD Died 1879

PART I.

HOLDERS OF THE TITLE.

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Robert Willoughby, I. Lord Willoughby.

HENRY III.
1270.

The Family and Parents of Robert Willoughby, I. Lord Willoughby, born 1270.—Burke's Extinct Peerage, p. 575.

The family of Willoughby, by a pedigree drawn up in the time of Elizabeth, appears to be descended from Sir John de Willoughby, a Norman knight, who had the lordship of Willoughby, in Lincolnshire, by gift of the Conqueror. From this successful soldier we pass to Sir William de Willoughby, who, in the 54th of Henry III., was signed with the cross, and accompanied Prince Edward into the Holy Land. He married Alice, daughter of John, Lord Beke, of Eresby, and eldest co-heir of her brother Walter, Lord of Eresby, and had issue,

Sir Robert de Willoughby, who was summoned to parliament as Baron Willoughby de Eresby.

EDWARD I
1297.

Lord Willoughby in Gascony.—Nicolas's "Siege of Carlaverock," p. 327.

1300.

Summoned to attend the King at the siege of the Castle of Carlaverock.

Dugdale informs us that in the 25th Edward I. he was in the expedition into Gascony; and in the 28th Edward I. 1300, he was returned from the county of Lincoln, as holding lands or rents, either *in capite* or otherwise, to the amount of £40 yearly value and upwards, and as such was summoned under the general writ to perform military service against the Scots in June in that year, at which time he was present at the siege of Carlaverock.

Description of the Castle.—Nicolas, p. ix

The Castle of Carlaverock, which is said to have been the Carbantorigum of Ptolemy, stood in the parish of that name, in the county, and about nine miles south of the town, of Dumfries, on the north shore of Solway Frith, at the confluence of the rivers Nith and Locher.

EDWARD I.
1300.

The names and arms of the King's companions at the siege of Carlaverock — Nicolas, pp. 2-5.

In the year of Grace one thousand three hundred, on the day of Saint John, Edward held a great Court at Carlisle, and commanded that in a short time all his men should prepare, to go together with him against his enemies the Scots.

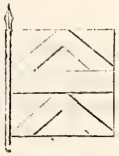
On the appointed day the whole host was ready, and the good king with his household, then set forward against the Scots, not in coats and surcoats, but on powerful and costly chargers; and that they might not be taken by surprise, well and securely armed.

There were many rich caparisons embroidered on silks and satins; many a beautiful pennon fixed to a lance; and many a banner displayed.

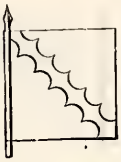
And afar off was the noise heard of the neighing of horses; mountains and valleys were every where covered with sumpter horses and waggons with provisions, and sacks of tents and pavilions.

And the days were long and fine. They proceeded by easy journeys, arranged in four squadrons; the which I will so describe to you, that not one shall be passed over. But first I will tell you of the names and arms of the companions, especially of the banners, if you will listen how.

Henry the good Earl of Lincoln, burning with valour, and which is the chief feeling of his heart, leading the first squadron, had a banner of yellow silk with a purple lion rampant.

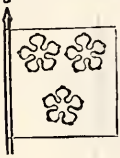


With him Robert le Fitz Walter, who well knew the use of arms, and so used them when required. In a yellow banner he had a fess between two red chevrons.

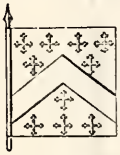


And William le Marshall, who in Ireland had the chief command. He bore a gold bend engrailed in a red banner.

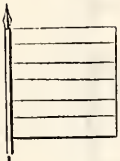
EDWARD I 1290. "Siege of Carlaverock."—Nicolas, pp. 7-9.



Hugh Bardolf, a man of great appearance, rich, valiant, and courteous. He bore, azure, three cinquefoils of pure gold.

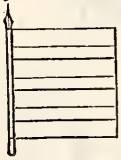


A great lord, much honoured, may I well name the fifth, Philip the Lord of Kyme, who bore red, with a chevron of gold surrounded by crosslets.



I saw Henry de Grey there, who well and nobly attended with his good Lord the Earl. He had a banner, and reckoned rightly you would find it barry of six pieces of silver and blue.

Robert de Montalt was there, who highly endeavoured to acquire high honor. He had a banner of a blue colour, with a lion rampant of silver.



In company with these was Thomas de Multon, who had a banner and shield of silver with three red bars.

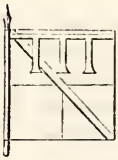
These arms were not single, for such, or much resembling them, were in the hands of John de Lancaster; but who, in the place of a bar less, bore a red quarter with a yellow leopard.

EDWARD I
1300.
"Siege of Carlaverock."—Nicolas, pp. 9-13.

And of this same division was William le Vavasour, who in arms is neither deaf nor dumb. He had a very distinguishable banner of fine gold with a sable dancet.

Also John de Holdeston, who at all times appears well and promptly in arms. He was with the Count, which makes it proper that he should be named among his followers. He bore gules fretty of silver.

I saw the good Robert Fitz Roger's banner ranged with that of the Earl in the march: it was quarterly of gold and red with a black bend.



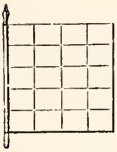
That of John his son and heir, who has the surname of Clavering, was not at all different, excepting only a green label.

All those whom I have named to you were the retinue of the good and well-beloved Earl. His companion was the Constable, who was Earl of Hereford, a rich, elegant young man. He had a banner of deep blue silk, with a white bend between two cotises of fine gold, on the outside of which he had six lioncels rampant.

With him was Nicholas de Segrave, whom nature had adorned in body and enriched in heart. He had a valiant father, who wholly abandoned the garbs and assumed the lion; and who taught his children to imitate the brave, and to associate with the nobles. Nicholas used

his father's banner with a red label; by his brother John, who was the eldest, it was borne entire. The father had by his wife five sons, who were valiant, bold, and courageous knights. The banner of the eldest, whom the Earl Marshal had sent to execute his duties because he could not come, was sable with a silver lion rampant, crowned with fine gold. I cannot recollect what other Bannerets were there, but you shall see in the conclusion that he had one hundred good bachelors there, not one of whom would go into lodgings or tent until they had examined all the suspected passes, in which they rode every day. The Marshal, the harbinger, assigned lodgings to those who were entitled to them. Thus far I have spoken of those who are in and form the vanguard.

EDWARD I. 1300. "Siege of Carlaverock."—Nicolas, pp. 13-15.



John the good Earl of Warren held the reins to regulate and govern the second squadron, as he who well knew how to lead noble and honourable men. His banner was handsomely chequered with gold and azure.

He had in his company Henri de Percy his nephew, who seemed to have made a vow to humble the Scots. His banner was very conspicuous, a blue lion rampant on yellow.

Robert le Fitzpayne followed them; he had his red banner, side by side, with three white lions passant, surcharged with a blue baton.

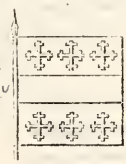
EDWARD I. 1306. "Siege of Carlaverock."—Nicolas, pp. 17-19.

Add to these Walter de Money, who was in this company because they were all of one household. He had his banner chequered of silver and red.

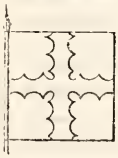
The valiant Aymer de Valence bore a beautiful banner there of silver and azure stuff, surrounded by a border of red martlets.

With him Nicholas de Carew, a valiant man of great fame, which had often been displayed both in cover and on the plains against the rebellious people of Ireland. He had a handsome yellow banner with three lions passant sable.

With them was Roger de la Ware, a wise and valiant knight, whose arms were red, with a white lion and crosslets.



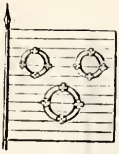
Guy Earl of Warwick, who of all that are mentioned in my rhyme had not a better neighbour than himself, bore a red banner with a fess of gold and crusilly.



John de Mohun bore there, yellow, with a black cross engrailed.

Tateshal, for valour which he had displayed with them, has one of gold and red chequered, with a chief ermine.

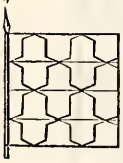
EDWARD I. 1300. "Siege of Carlaverock."—Nicolas, pp. 19-23.



Ralph le Fitzwilliam bore differently from him of Valence, for instead of martlets he had three chaplets of red roses, which became him marvellously.

That which William de Ros displayed there, was red with three white bougets.

And the banner of Hugh Pointz was barry of eight pieces of gold and red.



John de Beauchamp bore handsomely, in a graceful manner, and with inspiring ardour, a banner vair.

The ventailes were soon lowered, and the battalions proceeded on their march. Of two of them you have already been told, and of the third you shall hear.

Edward King of England and Scotland, Lord of Ireland, Prince of Wales, and Duke of Aquitaine, conducted the third squadron at a little distance, and brought up the rear so closely and ably that none of the others were left behind. In his banner were three leopards courant of fine gold, set on red, fierce, haughty,

EDWARD I
1300.
"Siege of Carlaverock."—Nicolas.
pp. 23-27.

and cruel; thus placed to signify that, like them, the King is dreadful, fierce, and proud to his enemies, for his bite is slight to none who inflame his anger; not but his kindness is soon rekindled towards such as seek his friendship or submit to his power. Such a Prince was well suited to be the chieftain of noble personages.

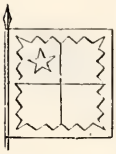
I must next mention his nephew John of Brittany, because he is nearest to him; and this preference he has well deserved, having assiduously served his uncle from infancy, and left his father and other relations to dwell in his household when the King had occasion for his followers. He was handsome and amiable, and had a beautiful and ornamented banner, chequered gold and azure, with a red border and yellow leopards, and a quarter of ermine.

John de Bar was likewise there, who, in a blue banner, crusilly, bore two barbels of gold, with a red border engrailed.

William de Grandison bore paly silver and azure, surcharged with a red bend, and thereon three beautiful eaglets of fine gold.

Well ought I to state in my lay, that the courteous Elias de Aubigny had a red banner, on which appeared a white fess engrailed.

But Eurmenions de la Brette had a banner entirely red.



After these I find in my account Hugh de Vere, son of the Earl of Oxford, and brother to his heir. He had a long and narrow banner, not of silk but of good cloth, and quartered gold and red, with a black indented border, and in the upper part a white star.

EDWARD I. 1300. "Siege of Carlaverock."—Nicolas. pp. 27-29.

John de Rivers had his caparisons mascally of gold and vermillion; and they were therefore similar to those of the good Maurice de Croun.

Robert, the Lord of Clifford, to whom reason gives consolation, who always remembers to overcome his enemies. He may call Scotland to bear witness of his noble lineage, that originated well and nobly, as he is of the race of the noble Earl Marshal, who at Constantinople fought with an unicorn, and struck him dead beneath him; from whom he is descended through his mother. The good Roger, his father's father, was considered equal to him, but he had no merit which does not appear to be revived in his grandson; for I well know there is no degree of praise of which he is not worthy, as he exhibits as many proofs of wisdom and prudence as any of those who accompany his good Lord the King. His much-honoured banner was chequered with gold and azure, with a vermillion fess. If I were a young maiden, I would give him my heart and person, so great is his fame.

The good Hugh le Despenser, who loyally on his courser knows how to disperse an enemy, had a banner quarterly, with a black baton on the white, and the gules fretty yellow.

EDWARD I
1300.
"Siege of Carlaverock."—Nicola, pp. 31-33.

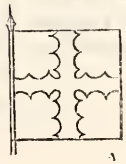
I have not forgotten the banner of the good Hugh de Courtenay, of fine gold with three red roundlets and a blue label.

And that of Aumary de Saint Amand, who advances, displaying his prowess, of gold and black fretty, on a chief three roundlets, also of gold.

John de Engaigne had a handsome one of red, crusilly, with a dancette of gold.

Next, Walter de Beauchamp bore there, six martlets of gold in a red field, with a fess instead of a dancette. A knight, according to my opinion, one of the best of the whole, if he had not been too rash and daring; but you will never hear any one speak of the Seneschal that has not a *but*.

He, who with a light heart, doing good to all, bore a yellow banner and pennon with a black saltire engrailed, was called John Botetourte.



The banner of Eustace de Hache was well ornamented; it was yellow with a red cross engrailed.

Adam de Welles bore there, gold, a black lion rampant, whose tail spread itself into two.

EDWARD I. 1300. "Siege of Carlaverock."—Nicolas. pp. 33 35.

The handsome and amiable Robert de Scales bore red, with shells of silver.

Touches, a knight of good fame, bore red, with yellow martlets.

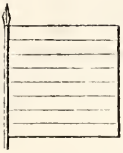
That of the Count of Laonis was known as red with a white lion, and a white border with roses like the field.

Patrick of Dunbar, son of the Count, bore in no way different from his father, excepting a blue label

Richard Suwart, who was in company with them, had a black banner painted with a white cross, flowered at the ends.

EDWARD I.
1300.
"Siege of Carlaverock."—Nicolas, pp. 37-39.

Simon de Fresel, of that company, bore black with roses of silver.



The handsome Brian Fitz Alan, full of courtesy and honour, I saw with his well-adorned banner, barry of gold and red; which was the subject of a dispute between him and Hugh Pointz, who bore the same, neither more nor less, at which many and many marvelled.

Then there was Roger de Mortaigne, who strives that he may acquire honour; he bore yellow with six blue lions, the tails of which we call double.

And of the handsome Huntercombe, ermine with two red gemelles.

William de Ridre was there, who in a blue banner bore crescents of brilliant gold.

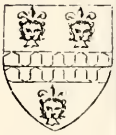
With them marched the handsome Thomas de Furnival, who, when seated on horseback, does not resemble a man asleep; he bore six martlets and a red bend in a white banner.

John de la Mare bore a silver maunch worked on red.

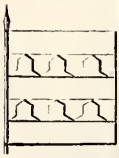
EDWARD I. 1300. "Siege of Carlaverock."—Nicolas, pp. 39-41.

John le Estrange had red caparisons with two white lions passant.

Also I know John de Grey was there, who I saw had his banner barry of silver and blue, with a red bend engrailed.



And William de Cantilupe, whom I for this reason praise, that he has at all times lived in honour. He had on a red shield a fess vair, with three fleurs de lis of bright gold issuing from leopards' heads.



And then Hugh de Mortimer, who well knew how to make himself loved: he bore a red banner with two fesses vair.

But by Simon de Montagu, who had a blue banner and shield with a griffin rampant of fine gold, the third squadron was brought to a close.

EDWARD I.
1300.
"Siege of Carlaverock."—Nicolas, pp. 43-45.

The fourth squadron, with its train, was led by Edward the king's son, a youth of seventeen years of age, and bearing arms for the first time. He was of a well proportioned and handsome person, of a courteous disposition, and intelligent; and desirous of finding an occasion to display his prowess. He managed his steed wonderfully well, and bore with a blue label the arms of the good King his father. Now God give him grace that he be as valiant and no less so than his father: then may those fall into his hands who from henceforward do not act properly.

The brave John de Saint John was every where with him, who on all his white caparisons had upon a red chief two gold mullets.

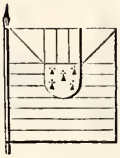
A white surcoat and white alettes, a white shield and a white banner, were borne with a red manuch by Robert de Tony, who well evinces that he is a Knight of the Swan.

Henry le Tyes had a banner whiter than a smooth lily, with a red chevron in the middle.

Prowess had made a friend of William le Latimer, who bore on this occasion a well-proportioned banner, with a gold cross patée pourtrayed on red.

Also William de Leybrue, a valiant man, without *but* and without *if*, had there a banner and a large pennon, of blue, with six white lions rampant.

EDWARD I. 1309. "Siege of Carlaverock."—Nicolas pp. 45-49.



And then Roger de Mortimer, who on both sides the sea has borne, wherever he went, a shield barry, with a chief paly and the corners gyronny, emblazoned with gold and with blue, with the escutcheon voided of ermine. He proceeded with the others, for he and the before named were appointed to conduct and guard the King's son. But how can I place them? The St. Johns, the Latimers, were leaders from the first, who ought to have been in the rear of the squadron, as those who best understood such matters, for it would not be wise to seek elsewhere two more valiant or two more prudent men.

Their friends and neighbours were two brothers, cousins to the King's son, named Thomas and Henry, who were sons of Monsieur Edmond, the well-beloved, who was formerly so called.

Thomas was Earl of Lancaster: this is the description of his arms; those of England with a label of France, and he did not wish to display any others.

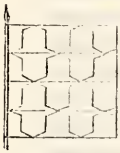
Those of Henry I do not repeat to you, whose whole daily study was to resemble his good father, for he bore the arms of his brother, with a blue baton, without the label.

EDWARD I.
1300
"Siege of Carlaverock"—Nicolas, pp. 49-51.

William de Ferrers was finely and nobly accoutred and well armed, in red, with gold masclcs voided of the field.

He, by whom they were well supported, acquired, after great doubts and fears until it pleased God he should be delivered, the love of the Countess of Gloucester, for whom he a long time endured great sufferings. He had only a banner of fine gold with three red chevrons. He made no bad appearance when attired in his own arms, which were yellow with a green eagle. His name was Ralph de Monthermer.

After him I saw first of all the valiant Robert de la Warde, who guards his banner well, which is vaire of white and black.



The heir of John de St. John was there a companion; he bore the name of his father, and also his arms with a blue label.

Richard the Earl of Arundel, a handsome and well-beloved Knight, I saw there, richly armed in red, with a gold lion rampant.

Alan de la Zouche, to shew that riches were perishable, bore bezants on his red banner; for I know well that he has spent more treasure than is suspended in his purse.

EDWARD I. 1300. "Siege of Carlaverock."—Nicolas. pp. 51-55

With them were joined both in company and affection, the followers of the noble Bishop of Durham, the most vigilant clerk in the kingdom, a true mirror of Christianity; so, that I may tell you the truth, I would be understood that he was wise, eloquent, temperate, just, and chaste. Never was there a great man, nor like person, who regulated his life better. He was entirely free from pride, covetousness, and envy: not, however, that he wanted spirit to defend his rights, if he could not work upon his enemies by gentle measures, for so strongly was he influenced by a just conscience, that it was the astonishment of every one. In all the King's wars he appeared in noble array, with a great and expensive retinue. He was detained in England in consequence of a treaty which was just entered into, but I know not about what wrong, so that he did not come into Scotland; notwithstanding, being well informed of the King's expedition, he sent him of his people one hundred and sixty men at arms. Arthur, in former times, with all his spells, had not so fine a present from Merlin. He sent there his ensign, which was gules with a fer de moulin of ermine.

He who all honour displays, John de Hastings, was to conduct it in his name; for it was entrusted to him, as being the most intimate and the best beloved of any one he had there. And assuredly he well deserved to be so; for he was

EDWARD I
1400.
"Siege of Carlaverock."—Nicolas.
Pp. 49-51.

known by all to be in deeds of arms daring and reckless, but in the hostel mild and gracious; nor was there ever a Judge in Eyre more willing to judge rightly. He had a light and strong shield, and a banner of similar work of fine gold with a red maunch.

Edmond, his valiant brother, chose there the black label. He could not fail of those honours which he took so much pains to acquire.

They had a handsome and accomplished bachelor, well versed in love and arms, named John Paignel, as a companion, who in a green banner, bore a maunch of fine gold.

And, as the good Edmond Deincourt could not attend himself, he sent his two brave sons in his stead, and with them his banner of a blue colour, billetté of gold, with a dancette over all.

Of John le Fitz Marmaduke, whom all esteemed, Prince and Duke and others who knew him, the banner was adorned with a fess and three popinjays, which were painted white, on a red field.

And Maurice de Berkeley, who was a companion in this expedition, had a banner red as blood, crusilly with a white chevron, and a blue label because his father was alive.

But Alexander de Balliol, who had his eye on doing every good, bore a banner with a yellow ground and a red escutcheon voided of the field.

EDWARD I 1300. "Siege of Carlaverock"—Nicolas, pp. 59-63.

To those last named, without reckoning double, were eighty-seven banners, which quite filled the roads to the castle of Carlaverock, which was not taken like a chess rook, but it will have thrusts of lances, and engines raised and poised, as we shall inform you when we describe the attack.

Carlaverock was so strong a castle, that it did not fear a siege, therefore the King came himself, because it would not consent to surrender. But it was always furnished for its defence, whenever it was required, with men, engines, and provisions. Its shape was like that of a shield, for it had only three sides all round, with a tower on each angle; but one of them was a double one, so high, so long, and so large, that under it was the gate with a draw-bridge, well made and strong, and a sufficiency of other defences. It had good walls, and good ditches filled to the edge with water; and I believe there never was seen a castle more beautifully situated, for at once could be seen the Irish sea towards the west, and to the north a fine country, surrounded by an arm of the sea, so that no creature born could approach it on two sides without putting himself in danger of the sea. Towards the south it was not easy, because there were numerous dangerous defiles of wood, and marshes, and ditches, where the sea is on each side of it, and where the river reaches it; and therefore it was necessary for the host to approach it towards the east, where the hill slopes.

EDWARD I. 1300. "Siege of Carlaverock"—Nicolas, pp. 63-67.

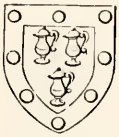
And in that place by the King's commands his battalions were formed into three, as they were to be quartered; then were the banners arranged, when one might observe many a warrior there exercising his horse: and there appeared three thousand brave men at arms; then might be seen gold and silver, and the noblest and best of all rich colours, so as entirely to illuminate the valley; consequently, those of the castle, on seeing us arrive, might, as I well believe, deem that they were in greater peril than they could ever before remember. And as soon as we were thus drawn up, we were quartered by the Marshal, and then might be seen houses built without carpenters or masons, of many different fashions, and many a cord stretched, with white and coloured cloth, with many pins driven into the ground, many a large tree cut down to make huts; and leaves, herbs, and flowers gathered in the woods, which were strewed within; and then our people took up their quarters.

Soon afterwards it fortunately happened that the navy arrived with the engines and provisions, and then the footmen began to march against the castle; then might be seen stones, arrows, and quarreaus to fly among them; but so effectually did those within exchange their tokens with those without, that in one short hour there were many persons wounded and maimed, and I know not how many killed.

When the men at arms saw that the footmen had sustained such losses who had begun the attack, many ran there, many leaped there, and many used such haste to go, that they did not deign to speak to any one. Then might there be seen such kind of stones thrown as if they would beat hats and helmets to powder, and break shields and targets in pieces; for to kill and wound was the game at which they played.

EDWARD I
1300.
"Siege of Carlaverock."—Nicolas, pp. 67-69.

Great shouts arose among them, when they perceived that any mischief occurred.



There, first of all, I saw come the good Bertram de Montbouchier, on whose shining silver shield were three red pitchers, with besants in a black border.

With him Gerard de Gondronville, an active and handsome bachelor. He had a shield neither more nor less than vaire. These were not resting idle, for they threw up many a stone, and suffered many a heavy blow.

The first body was composed of Bretons, and the second were of Lorrain, of which none found the other tardy; so that they afforded encouragement and emulation to others to resemble them. Then came to assail the castle, Fitz-Marmaduke, with a banner and a great and full troop of good and select bachelors.

Robert de Willoughby, I saw, bore gold fretty azure.

Robert de Hamsart I saw arrive, fully prepared, with fine followers, holding a red shield by the straps, containing three silver stars.

Henry de Graham had his arms red as blood, with a white saltire and chief, on which he had three red escallop shells.

EDWARD I. 1301. "Siege of Carlaverock."—Nicolas, pp. 71-73.

Thomas de Richmont, who a second time collected some lances, had red armour, with a chief and two gemelles of gold. These did not act like discreet people, nor as persons enlightened by understanding; but as if they had been inflamed and blinded with pride and despair, for they made their way right forwards to the very brink of the ditch.

And those of Richmont passed at this moment quite to the bridge, and demanded entry; they were answered with ponderous stones and cornues. Willoughby in his advances received a stone in the middle of his breast, which ought to have been protected by his shield, if he had deigned to use it.

Fitz-Marmaduke had undertaken to endure as much in that affair as the others could bear, for he was like a post; but his banner received many stains, and many a rent difficult to mend.

Hamsart bore himself so nobly, that from his shield fragments might often be seen to fly in the air; for he, and those of Richmont, drove the stones upwards as if it were rotten, whilst those within defended themselves by loading their heads and necks with the weight of heavy blows.

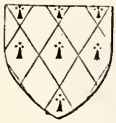
Those led by Graham did not escape, for there were not above two who returned unhurt, or brought back their shields entire.

Then you might hear the tumult begin. With them were intermixed a great body of the King's followers, all of whose names, if I were to repeat, and recount their brave actions, the labour would be too heavy, so many were there, and so well did they behave. Nor would this suffice without those of the retinue of the King's son, great numbers of whom came there in noble array;

EDWARD I.
1300
"Siege of Carlaverock."—Nicolas, pp. 75-77.

for many a shield newly painted and splendidly adorned, many a helmet and many a burnished hat, many a rich gambezon garnished with silk, tow, and cotton, were there to be seen of divers forms and fashions.

There I saw Ralph de Gorges, a newly-dubbed knight, fall more than once to the ground from stones and the crowd, for he was of so haughty a spirit that he would not deign to retire. He had all his harness and attire mascally of gold and azure.



Those who were on the wall Robert de Tony severely harassed, for he had in his company the good Richard de Rokeley, who so well plied those within that he frequently obliged them to retreat. He had his shield painted mascally of red and ermine.

Adam de la Forde mined the walls as well as he could, for his stones flew in and out as thick as rain, by which many were disabled. He bore, in clear blue, three gold lioncels rampant crowned.

The good Baron of Wigtown received such blows that it was the astonishment of all that he was not stunned; for, without excepting any lord present, none shewed a more resolute or unembarrassed countenance. He bore within a bordure indented, three gold stars on sable.

Many a heavy and crushing stone did he of Kirkbride receive, but he placed before him a white shield with a green cross engrailed. So stoutly was the gate of the castle assailed by him, that never did smith with his hammer strike his iron as he and his did there. Notwithstanding, there were showered upon them such huge stones, quarrels, and arrows, that with wounds and bruises they were so hurt

EDWARD I. 1300. "Siege of Carlaverock."—Nicolas, pp. 77-81.

and exhausted, that it was with very great difficulty they were able to retire.

But as soon as they retreated, he of Clifford, being advised of it, and like one who had no intention that those within should have repose, sent his banner there, and as many as could properly escort it, with Bartholomew de Badlesmere, and John de Cromwell, as those who could best perform his wishes; for whilst their breath lasted, none of them neglected to stoop and pick up the stones, to throw them, and to attack.

But the people of the castle would not permit them to remain there long. Badlesmere, who all that day behaved himself well and bravely, bore on white with a blue label a red fess between two gemelles.

Cromwell, the brave and handsome, who went gliding between the stones, bore on blue a white lion rampant double-tailed, and crowned with gold; but think not that he brought it away, or that it was not bruised, so much was it battered and defaced by stones before he retreated.

After these two, La Warde and John de Gray returned there, and renewed the attack. Those within, who were fully expecting it, bent their bows and cross-bows, and prepared their espringalls, and kept themselves quite ready both to throw and to hurl.

Then the followers of my Lord of Brittany recommenced the assault, fierce and daring as lions of the mountains, and every day improving in both the practice and use of arms. Their party soon covered the entrance of the castle, for none could have attacked it more furiously. Not, however, that it was so subdued that those who came after them would not have a share in

EDWARD I. 1300. "Siege of Carlaverock."—Nicolas pp. 81-85.

their labours; but they left more than enough for them also.

After these, the people of my Lord of Hastings assembled there, where I saw John de Cretinques in danger of losing a horse. When upon it, one came beneath pricking it with an arrow; but he did not seem to be dissembling, he used such haste to strike him. On his white shield he had caused to be depicted a red chevron with three mullets.

He who bore a dancette and billets of gold on blue, John Deincourt by name, rushed to the assault, and there extremely well performed his duty.

It was also a fine sight to see the good brothers of Berkeley receiving numerous blows; and the brothers Basset likewise, of whom the eldest bore thus, ermine, a red chief indented, charged with three gold mullets; the other, with three shells; found the passages straitened. Those within continually relieved one another, for always as one became fatigued, another returned fresh and stout; and, notwithstanding such assaults were made upon them, they would not surrender, but so defended themselves, that they resisted those who attacked, all that day and night, and the next day until tierce. But their courage was considerably depressed during the attack by the brother Robert, who sent numerous stones from the robinet, without cessation from the dawn of the preceding day until the evening. Moreover, on the other side he was erecting three other engines, very large, of great power and very destructive, which cut down and cleave whatever they strike. Fortified town, citadel, nor barrier—nothing is protected

EDWARD I
1300.
"Siege of Carlaverock."—Nicolas, pp. 85-89.

from their strokes. Yet those within did not flinch until some of them were slain, but then each began to repent of his obstinacy, and to be dismayed. The pieces fell in such manner, wherever the stones entered, that, when they struck either of them, neither iron cap nor wooden target could save him from a wound.

And when they saw that they could not hold out any longer or endure more, the companions begged for peace, and put out a pennon, but he that displayed it was shot with an arrow, by some archer, through the hand into the face. Then he begged that they would do no more to him, for they will give up the castle to the King, and throw themselves upon his mercy. And the marshal and constable, who always remained on the spot, at that notice forbad the assault, and these surrendered the castle to them.

And this is the number of those who came out of it; of persons of different sorts and ranks sixty men, who were beheld with much astonishment, but they were all kept and guarded till the King commanded that life and limb should be given them, and ordered to each of them a new garment. Then was the whole host rejoiced at the news of the conquest of the castle, which was so noble a prize.

Then the King caused them to bring up his banner, and that of St. Edmond, St. George, and St. Edward, and with them, by established right, those of Segrave and Hereford, and that of the Lord of Clifford, to whom the castle was entrusted.

And then the King, who is well skilled in war, directed in what way his army should proceed.

Here ends the Siege of Carlaverock.

On the 21st June, 1 Edward II. 1308, Willoughby was ordered to attend at Carlisle with horse and arms to serve against the Scots.

EDWARD II.
1308.
Lord Willoughby ordered to Carlisle — Nicolas, p. 327.

In 4 Edward 2., upon the death of Anthony Bec, Bishop of Durham, he was found to be one of his Cousins and next heirs (viz. son of Alice, daughter of John, brother to that Bishop) and at that time forty years of age.

1310.
Found heir of the Bishop of Durham.— Dugdale, "Baronage," p. 83.

Having been thus serviceable to the King in his wars of France, and Scotland; and possessing so ample an estate, by the accession of those lands, which came to him by descent from that Bishop, he had summons to Parliament amongst the Barons of this realm, in 7 Edward 2. And in 8 Edward 2 received command to be at Newcastle upon Tine, on the festival of the Blessed Virgin, well fitted with horse and arms, to restrain the Incursions of the Scots.

1313.
His summons as a Baron —Dugdale, p. 83.

1314.

In the 8th Edward II. 1315, he was, with others, ordered to investigate the facts stated in the petition of the Prior of Park Norton against Sir Philip Darcy; and shortly afterwards to inquire into and determine a complaint of the inhabitants of Lincoln, relative to divers robberies, murders, &c. in that county. On the 30th June, Willoughby was for the last time commanded to serve in the Scottish wars.

1315.
Lord Willoughby investigates complaints in Lincolnshire.— Nicolas, p. 428

He died in 1316, aged about 46.

1316.
Lord Willoughby's death —Nicolas, p. 328.

EDWARD II
1316.
Nicolas, p. 328.

By Margaret his wife, the daughter of Lord Deincourt, he left John, his son and heir, then 14 years old.

ARMS OF LORD WILLOUGHBY.
(Nicolas, p. 328.)

John Willoughby, II. Lord Willoughby.

EDWARD II.
1316.

THE Wardship of this John (being in minority), in consideration of a Thousand Marks, was, in 16 Edward 2. granted to William, Lord Zouche of Haringworth. But not long after (viz., in 20 Edward 2). he receiv'd the honor of Knighthood, by Bathing, &c. having all his accoutrements relating to that Solemnity allowed out of the King's Wardrobe: and, in 1 Edward 3. making proof of his age, had Livery of his Lands.

Lord Willoughby's minority and majority.—Dugdale "Baronage," p. 83.

EDWARD III.
1344-1343.

In 7 Edward 3. this John was in the Scottish Wars. So likewise in 8 and 9 Edward 3. being then in the retinue of Eubulo le Strange. Again, in 10 Edward 3 and 11 Edward 3. and in 12 Edward 3. he was in that made into Flanders. So likewise in 13 Edward 3. and in 16 Edward 3. charg'd with Twenty Men at Armes, and Twenty Archers, for the Wars of France; the King himself being in that Expedition.

Engaged in several warlike Expeditions.—Dugdale, p. 83.

1346.

The King tooke shipping, and sailed into Normandie, having established the lord Percie and the lord Neuill, to be wardens of his realme in his absence, with the Archbishop of Yorke, the Bishop of Lincolne, and the Bishop of Duresme. The armie which he had over with him, was to the number of foure thousand men of armes, and ten thousand archers, beside Irishmen and Welshmen, that folowed the host on foot. The cheefest capteins that went over with him were these. First his eldest sonne, Edward, Prince of Wales, the Earles of Hereford, Northampton, Arundell, Cornewall, Huntington, Warwike, Suffolke, and Oxford; of Barons, the Lord Mortimer, who was after Earle of March, the Lords John, Lewes, and Roger Beauchampe; also the Lords Cobham Mowbraie, Lucie, Basset, Barkeley, and Willoughbie, with diverse other Lords, besides a great number of Knights and other worthie Capteins. They landed by the advise of the Lord Godfrey of Harecourt, in the Ile of Constantine, at the port of Hague saint Wast, neere to saint Saviour le Vicount. The Earle of Huntington was appointed to be governour of the fleet by sea, having with him a hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers.

The King passeth over into Normandy.—Holinshed's Chron., vol. III., p. 369.

After that the whole armie was landed, the King appointed two marshals, the Lord Godfrey of Harecourt, and the Earle of Warwike, and the Earle of Arundell was made constable. There were ordeined three battels, one to go on his right hand, following by the coast of the sea; and another to march on his left hand, under the conduct of the marshals; so that he himself went in the middest with the maine armie, and in this order forward they passed towards Caen, lodging everie night togither in one field. They that went by the sea, tooke all the ships they found in their waie, and as they marched foorth thus, what by water and land, at length they came to a towne called Harflew, which was given up, but yet neverthelesse it was robbed, and much goods found in it. After this they came to Chierburge, which towne they wan by force, robbed, and burnt part of it, but

The ordering of the King's Armie.—Holinshed, vol. III., p. 369.

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the castell they could not win. Then came they to Mountburge and tooke it, robbed it and burnt it cleane. In this manner they passed foorth, and burnt manie townes and villages in all the countrie as they went. The towne of Carentine was delivered unto them against the will of the soldiers that were within it. The soldiers defended the castell two daies, and then yeelded it up into the Englishmen's hands, who burnt the same, and caused the burgesses to enter into their ships. All this was doone by the battell that went by the sea side, and by them on the sea togither.

The order of Battle of the English at Crecy, who were drawn up in three Battalions on foot.—Johnes' Froissart, 1847, Chap. cxxvii.

The King of England encamped in the plain, for he found the country abounding in provisions; but, if they should have failed, he had plenty in the carriages which attended on him. The army set about furbishing and repairing their armour; and the King gave a supper that evening to the earls and barons of his army, where they made good cheer. On their taking leave, the King remained alone, with the lords of his bed-chamber; he retired into his oratory, and, falling on his knees before the altar, prayed to God, that, if he should combat his enemies on the morrow, he might come off with honour. About midnight he went to his bed; and, rising early the next day, he and the Prince of Wales heard mass, and communicated. The greater part of his army did the same, confessed, and made proper preparations. After mass, the King ordered his men to arm themselves, and assemble on the ground he had before fixed on. He had enclosed a large park near a wood, on the rear of his army, in which he placed all his baggage-waggons and horses; and this park had but one entrance; his men-at-arms and archers remained on foot.

The King afterwards ordered, through his constable and his two marshals, that the army should be divided into three battalions. In the first, he placed the young Prince of Wales, and with him the Earls of Warwick and Oxford, Sir Godfrey de Harcourt, the Lord Reginald Cobham, Lord Thomas Holland, Lord Stafford, Lord Mauley, Lord Delaware, Sir John Chandos, Lord Bartholomew Burgherst, Lord Robert Neville, Lord Thomas Clifford, the Lord Bourchier, the Lord Latimer, and many other Knights and Squires whom I cannot name. There might be, in this first division, about eight hundred men-at-arms, two thousand archers, and a thousand Welshmen. They advanced in regular order to their ground, each Lord under his banner and pennon, and in the centre of his men. In the second battalion were the Earl of Northampton, the Earl of Arundel, the Lords Roos, Willoughby, Basset, Saint Albans, Sir Lewis Tufton, Lord Multon, the Lord Lascels, and many others; amounting, in the whole, to about eight hundred men-at-arms, and twelve hundred archers. The third battalion was commanded by the King, and was composed of about seven hundred men-at-arms, and two thousand archers.

The King then mounted a small palfrey, having a white wand in his hand, and attended by his two marshals on each side of him: he rode a foot's pace through all the ranks encouraging and entreating the army, that they would guard his honour and defend his right. He spoke this so sweetly, and with such a cheerful countenance, that all who had been dispirited were directly comforted by seeing and hearing him. When he had thus visited all the battalions, it was near ten o'clock: he retired to his own division, and ordered them all to eat heartily, and drink a glass after. They ate and drank at their ease; and, having packed up pots, barrels, &c., in the carts, they returned to their battalions, according to the marshals' orders, and seated themselves on the ground, placing their helmets and bows before them, that they might be the fresher when their enemies should arrive.

That same Saturday, the King of France rose betimes, and heard mass in the monastery

The order of the French Army at Crecy.—Froissart, Chap. cxxviii.

of St. Peter's in Abbeville, where he was lodged: having ordered his army to do the same, he left that town after sun-rise. When he had marched about two leagues from Abbeville, and was approaching the enemy, he was advised to form his army in order of battle, and to let those on foot march forward, that they might not be trampled on by the horses. The King, upon this, sent off four knights, the Lord Moyne of Bastleberg, the Lord of Noyers, the Lord of Beaujeu, and the Lord of Aubigny, who rode so near to the English that they could clearly distinguish their position. The English plainly perceived they were come to reconnoitre them: however, they took no notice of it, but suffered them to return unmolested. When the King of France saw them coming back, he halted his army; and the knights, pushing through the crowds, came near the King, who said to them, "My Lords, what news?" They looked at each other, without opening their mouths: for neither chose to speak first. At last, the King addressed himself to the Lord Moyne, who was attached to the King of Bohemia, and had performed very many gallant deeds, so that he was esteemed one of the most valiant knights in Christendom. The Lord Moyne said, "Sir, I will speak, since it pleases you to order me, but under the correction of my companions. We have advanced far enough to reconnoitre your enemies. Know, then, that they are drawn up in three battalions, and are waiting for you. I would advise, for my part (submitting, however, to better counsel,) that you halt your army here, and quarter them for the night; for before the rear shall come up, and the army be properly drawn out, it will be very late, your men will be tired and in disorder, whilst they will find your enemies fresh and properly arrayed. On the morrow, you may draw up your army more at your ease, and may reconnoitre at leisure on what part it will be most advantageous to begin the attack; for, be assured they will wait for you." The King commanded that it should so be done: and the two marshals rode, one towards the front, and the other to the rear, crying out, "Halt banners, in the name of God and St. Denis." Those that were in the front halted; but those behind said they would not halt, until they were as forward as the front. When the front perceived the rear pressing on they pushed forward; and neither the King nor the marshals could stop them, but they marched on without any order until they came in sight of their enemies. As soon as the foremost rank saw them, they fell back at once, in great disorder, which alarmed those in the rear, who thought they had been fighting. There was then space and room enough for them to have passed forward, had they been willing so to do: some did so, but others remained shy. All the roads between Abbeville and Crecy were covered with common people, who, when they were come within three leagues of their enemies, drew their swords, bawling out "Kill, kill," and with them were many great Lords that were eager to make show of their courage. There is no man, unless he had been present, that can imagine, or describe truly, the confusion of that day; especially the bad management and disorder of the French, whose troops were out of number. What I know, and shall relate in this book, I have learned chiefly from the English, who had well observed the confusion they were in, and from those attached to Sir John of Hainault, who was always near the person of the King of France.

The Battle of Crecy, between the Kings of France and of England.—Froissart, Chap. cxxix.

The English, who were drawn up in three divisions, and seated on the ground, on seeing their enemies advance, rose undauntedly up, and fell into their ranks. That of the Prince was the first to do so, whose archers were formed in the manner of a portcullis, or harrow, and the men-at-arms in the rear. The Earls of Northampton and Arundel, who commanded the second division, had posted themselves in good order on his wing, to assist

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Battle of Crecy.

and succour the Prince, if necessary. You must know, that these Kings, Earls, Barons, and Lords of France, did not advance in any regular order, but one after the other, or any way most pleasing to themselves. As soon as the King of France came in sight of the English, his blood began to boil, and he cried out to his marshals, "Order the Genoese forward, and begin the battle, in the name of God and St. Denis." There were about fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bowmen; but they were quite fatigued, having marched on foot that day six leagues, completely armed, and with their cross-bows. They told the constable, they were not in a fit condition to do any great things that day in battle. The Earl of Alençon, hearing this, said, "This is what one gets by employing such scoundrels, who fall off when there is any need for them." During this time a heavy rain fell, accompanied by thunder and a very terrible eclipse of the sun; and before this rain a great flight of crows hovered in the air over all those battalions, making a loud noise. Shortly afterwards it cleared up, and the sun shone very bright: but the Frenchmen had it in their faces, and the English in their backs. When the Genoese were somewhat in order, and approached the English, they set up a loud shout, in order to frighten them; but they remained quite still, and did not seem to attend to it. They then set up a second shout, and advanced a little forward; but the English never moved. They hooted a third time, advancing with their cross-bows presented, and began to shoot. The English archers then advanced one step forward, and shot their arrows with such force and quickness, that it seemed as if it snowed. When the Genoese felt these arrows, which pierced their arms, heads, and through their armour, some of them cut the strings of their cross-bows, others flung them on the ground, and all turned about and retreated quite discomfited. The French had a large body of men-at-arms on horse-back, richly dressed, to support the Genoese. The King of France, seeing them thus fall back, cried out, "Kill me those scoundrels; for they stop up our road, without any reason." You would then have seen the above-mentioned men-at-arms lay about them, killing all they could of these runaways.

The English continued shooting as vigorously and quickly as before; some of their arrows fell among the horsemen, who were sumptuously equipped, and, killing and wounding many, made them caper and fall among the Genoese, so that they were in such confusion they could never rally again. In the English army there were some Cornish and Welshmen on foot, who had armed themselves with large knives: these, advancing through the ranks of the men-at-arms and archers, who had made way for them, came upon the French when they were in this danger, and, falling upon Earls, Barons, Knights, and Squires, slew many, at which the King of England was afterwards much exasperated. The valiant King of Bohemia was slain there. He was called Charles of Luxembourg; for he was the son of the gallant King and Emperor, Henry of Luxembourg: having heard the order of the battle, he inquired where his son, the Lord Charles, was: his attendants answered, that they did not know, but believed he was fighting. The King said to them: "Gentlemen, you are all my people, my friends and brethren at arms this day: therefore, as I am blind, I request of you to lead me so far into the engagement that I may strike one stroke with my sword." The knights replied, they would directly lead him forward; and in order that they might not lose him in the crowd, they fastened all the reins of their horses together, and put the King at their head, that he might gratify his wish, and advance towards the enemy. The Lord Charles of Bohemia, who already signed his name as King of Germany, and bore the arms, had come in good order to the engagement; but when he perceived that it was likely to turn out against the

French, he departed, and I do not well know what road he took. The King, his father, had rode in among the enemy, and made good use of his sword; for he and his companions had fought most gallantly. They had advanced so far that they were all slain; and on the morrow they were found on the ground, with their horses all tied together.

The Earl of Alençon advanced in regular order upon the English, to fight with them; as did the Earl of Flanders, in another part. These two Lords, with their detachments, coasting, as it were, the archers, came to the Prince's battalion, where they fought valiantly for a length of time. The King of France was eager to march to the place where he saw their banners displayed, but there was a hedge of archers before him. He had that day made a present of a handsome black horse to Sir John of Hainault, who had mounted on it a Knight of his, called Sir John de Fusselles, that bore his banner: which horse ran off with him, and forced his way through the English army, and, when about to return, stumbled and fell into a ditch and severely wounded him: he would have been dead, if his page had not followed him round the battalions, and found him unable to rise: he had not, however, any other hindrance than from his horse; for the English did not quit the ranks that day to make prisoners. The page alighted, and raised him up; but he did not return the way he came, as he would have found it difficult from the crowd. This battle, which was fought on the Saturday, between La Broyes and Crecy, was very murderous and cruel; and many gallant deeds of arms were performed that were never known. Towards evening, many Knights and Squires of the French had lost their masters: they wandered up and down the plain, attacking the English in small parties: they were soon destroyed; for the English had determined that day to give no quarter, or hear of ransom from anyone.

Early in the day, some French, Germans, and Savoyards had broken through the archers of the Prince's battalion, and had engaged with the men-at-arms; upon which the second battalion came to his aid, and it was time, for otherwise he would have been hard pressed. The first division, seeing the danger they were in, sent a Knight in great haste to the King of England, who was posted upon an eminence, near a windmill. On the Knight's arrival, he said, "Sir, the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Stafford, the Lord Reginald Cobham, and the others who are about your son, are vigorously attacked by the French; and they entreat that you would come to their assistance with your battalion, for, if their numbers should increase, they fear he will have too much to do." The King replied, "Is my son dead, unhorsed, or so badly wounded that he cannot support himself?" "Nothing of the sort, thank God," rejoined the Knight; "but he is in so hot an engagement that he has great need of your help." The King answered, "Now, Sir Thomas, return back to those that sent you, and tell them from me, not to send again for me this day, or expect that I shall come, let what will happen, as long as my son has life; and say, that I command them to let the boy win his spurs; for I am determined, if it please God, that all the glory and honour of this day shall be given to him, and to those into whose care I have intrusted him." The Knight returned to his Lords, and related the King's answer, which mightily encouraged them, and made them repent they had ever sent such a message.

It is a certain fact, that Sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who was in the Prince's battalion, having been told by some of the English, that they had seen the banner of his brother engaged in the battle against him, was exceedingly anxious to save him; but he was too late, for he was left dead on the field, and so was the Earl of Aumarle, his nephew. On

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the other hand, the Earls of Alençon and of Flanders were fighting lustily under their banners, and with their own people; but they could not resist the force of the English, and were there slain, as well as many other Knights and Squires that were attending on or accompanying them. The Earl of Blois, nephew to the King of France, and the Duke of Lorraine, his brother-in-law, with their troops, made a gallant defence; but they were surrounded by a troop of English and Welsh, and slain in spite of their prowess. The Earl of St. Pol and the Earl of Auxerre were also killed, as well as many others. Late after vespers, the King of France had not more about him than sixty men, every one included. Sir John of Hainault, who was of the number, had once re-mounted the King, for his horse had been killed under him by an arrow: he said to the King, "Sir, retreat while you have an opportunity, and do not expose yourself so simply: if you have lost this battle, another time you will be the conqueror." After he had said this, he took the bridle of the King's horse, and led him off by force; for he had before entreated of him to retire. The King rode on until he came to the Castle of La Broyes, where he found the gates shut, for it was very dark. The King ordered the governor of it to be summoned: he came upon the battlements, and asked who it was that called at such an hour? The King answered, "Open, open, governor; it is the fortune of France." The governor, hearing the King's voice, immediately descended, opened the gate, and let down the bridge. The King and his company entered the castle; but he had only with him five Barons, Sir John of Hainault, the Lord Charles of Montmorency, the Lord of Beaujeu, the Lord of Aubigny, and the Lord of Montfort. The King would not bury himself in such a place as that, but, having taken some refreshments, set out again with his attendants about midnight, and rode on, under the direction of guides who were well acquainted with the country, until, about day-break, he came to Amiens, where he halted. This Saturday the English never quitted their ranks in pursuit of any one, but remained on the field, guarding their position, and defending themselves against all who attacked them. The battle was ended at the hour of vespers.

The English on the morrow again defeat the French.—Froissart, Chap. cxxx.

When, on this Saturday night, the English heard no more hooting or shouting, nor any more crying out to particular Lords or their banners, they looked upon the field as their own, and their enemies as beaten. They made great fires, and lighted torches because of the obscurity of the night. King Edward then came down from his post, who all that day had not put on his helmet, and, with his whole battalion, advanced to the Prince of Wales, whom he embraced in his arms and kissed, and said, "Sweet son, God give you good perseverance: you are my son, for most loyally have you acquitted yourself this day: you are worthy to be a sovereign." The Prince bowed down very low, and humbled himself, giving all honour to the King his father. The English, during the night, made frequent thanksgivings to the Lord, for the happy issue of the day, and without rioting; for the King had forbidden all riot or noise. On the Sunday morning there was so great a fog that one could scarcely see the distance of half an acre. The King ordered a detachment from the army, under the command of the two marshals, consisting of about five hundred lances and two thousand archers, to make an excursion, and see if there were any bodies of French collected together. The quota of troops, from Rouen and Beauvais, had, this Sunday morning, left Abbeville and St. Riquier in Ponthieu, to join the French army, and were ignorant of the defeat of the preceding evening: they met this detachment, and, thinking they must be French, hastened to join them.

As soon as the English found who they were, they fell upon them; and there was a

sharp engagement; but the French soon turned their backs, and fled in great disorder. There were slain in this flight in the open fields, under hedges and bushes, upwards of seven thousand; and had it been clear weather, not one soul would have escaped.

A little time afterwards, this same party fell in with the Archbishop of Rouen and the great Prior of France, who were also ignorant of the discomfiture of the French; for they had been informed that the King was not to fight before Sunday. Here began a fresh battle: for these two Lords were well attended by good men at arms: however, they could not withstand the English, but were almost all slain, with the two chiefs who commanded them; very few escaping. In the course of the morning, the English found many Frenchmen who had lost their road on the Saturday, and had lain in the open fields, not knowing what was become of the King, or their own leaders. The English put to the sword all they met: and it has been assured to me for fact, that of foot soldiers, sent from the cities, towns and municipalities, there were slain, this Sunday morning, four times as many as in the battle of the Saturday.

The English number the dead, slain at the battle of Crecy.—*Froissart, Chap. cxxxi.*

This detachment, which had been sent to look after the French, returned as the King was coming from mass, and related to him all they had seen and met with. After he had been assured by them that there was not any appearance of the French collecting another army, he sent to have the numbers and condition of the dead examined.

He ordered on this business, Lord Reginald Cobham, Lord Stafford, and three heralds to examine their arms, and two secretaries to write down all the names. They took much pains to examine all the dead, and were the whole day in the field of battle, not returning but just as the King was sitting down to supper. They made to him a very circumstantial report of all they had observed, and said, they had found eighty banners, the bodies of eleven princes, twelve hundred knights, and about thirty thousand common men.

The English halted there that day, and on the Monday morning prepared to march off. The King ordered the bodies of the principal knights to be taken from the ground, and carried to the monastery of Montenay, which was hard by, there to be interred in consecrated ground. He had it proclaimed in the neighbourhood, that he should grant a truce for three days, in order that the dead might be buried. He then marched on, passing by Montreuil-sur-mer.

His marshals made an excursion as far as Hesdin, and burnt Vaubain and Serain; but they could make nothing of the castle, as it was too strong and well guarded. They lay that Monday night upon the banks of the Canche, near Blangy. The next day they rode towards Boulogne, and burnt the towns of St. Josse and Neufchatel: they did the same to Estaples, in the country of the Boulonois. The whole army passed through the forest of Hardelou, and the country of the Boulonois, and came to the large town of Wisant, where the King, Prince, and all the English lodged; and, having refreshed themselves there one whole day, they came, on the Thursday, before the strong town of Calais.

1350.
Lord Willoughby's death.—*Dugdale, p. 83.*

Willoughby, having been summon'd to Parliament from 6 Edward 3. until the 23rd of that King's reign inclusive, departed this life the same year.

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1360.
Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1370.

He married Joan, daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Roseeline, Knt., and was succeeded by his eldest son, John.

EFFIGIES OF LORD WILLOUGHBY, AND JOAN ROSCELINE HIS WIFE, IN SPILSBY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.

John Willoughby, III. Lord Willoughby.

IN the 26 Edward 3, this John, upon the danger of an Invasion by the French, was constituted one of the Commissioners in Lincolnshire, to Array and Arme all Knights, Esquires, and other persons of body able, and estate sufficient, for defence of the Sea-coasts in that County.

Lord Willoughby constituted a Commissioner.—Dugdale, p. 34.

1356.
The disposition of the French before the battle of Poitiers.—Froissart, chap. clix.

On the Sunday morning, the King of France, who was very impatient to combat the English, ordered a solemn mass to be sung in his pavilion; and he and his four sons received the communion. Mass being over, there came to him the Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Bourbon, the Earl of Ponthieu, the Lord James de Bourbon, the Duke of Athens, Constable of France, the Earl of Tancarville, the Earl of Saltzburg, the Earl of Dammartin, the Earl of Vantadour, and many Barons of France, as well as other great Lords who held fiefs in the neighbourhood, such as my Lord of Clermont, Sir Arnold d'Andreghen marshal of France, and many more, according to a summons they had received for a council. They were a considerable time debating: at last it was ordered, that the whole army should advance into the plain, and that each Lord should display his banner, and push forward in the name of God and St Denis. Upon this, the trumpets of the army sounded, and every one got himself ready, mounted his horse, and made for that part of the plain where the King's banner was planted and fluttering in the wind. There might be seen all the nobility of France, richly dressed out in brilliant armour, with banners and pennons gallantly displayed; for all the flower of the French nobility were there: no Knight nor Squire, for fear of dishonour, dared to remain at home. By the advice of the constable and the marshals, the army was divided into three battalions, each consisting of sixteen thousand men-at-arms, who had before shown themselves men of tried courage. The Duke of Orleans commanded the first battalion, where there were thirty-six banners and twice as many pennons. The second was under the command of the Duke of Normandy, and his two brothers, the Lord Lewis and Lord John. The King of France commanded the third.

The King was mounted upon a white palfrey, and, riding to the head of his army, said aloud: "You, men of Paris, Chartres, Rouen and Orleans, have been used to threaten what you would do to the English, if you could find them, and wished much to meet them in arms: now, that wish shall be gratified: I will lead you to them; and let us see how you will revenge yourselves for all the mischief and damage they have done you; be assured we will not part without fighting." Those who heard him replied: "Sir, through God's assistance, we will most cheerfully meet them."

It chanced, on that day, that Sir John Chandos had rode out near one of the wings of

Froissart, chap. clx

EDWARD III. 1356.

the French army, and Lord John de Clermont, one of the King's marshals, had done the same, to view the English. As each Knight was returning to his quarters, they met; they both had the same device upon the surcoats which they wore over their other clothes; it was a Virgin Mary, embroidered on a field azure, or, encompassed with the rays of the sun argent. On seeing this, Lord Clermont said; "Chandos, how long is it since you have taken upon you to wear my arms?" "It is you who have mine," replied Chandos; "for it is as much mine as yours." "I deny that," said the Lord of Clermont; "and were it not for the truce between us, I would soon shew you that you have no right to wear it." "Ha," answered Sir John Chandos, "you will find me to-morrow in the field, ready prepared to defend, and to prove by force of arms, that it is as much mine as yours." The Lord of Clermont replied; "These are the boastings of you English, who can invent nothing new, but take for your own whatever you see handsome belonging to others." With that they parted, without more words, and each returned to his own army.

I wish to name some of the most renowned Knights, who were with the Prince of Wales. There were Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, John Vere Earl of Oxford, William Montacute Earl of Salisbury, Robert Ufford Earl of Suffolk, Ralph Lord Stafford, the Earl of Stafford, the Lord Richard Stafford, brother to the Earl, Sir John Chandos, the Lord Reginald Cobham, the Lord Edward Spencer, the Lord James Audley and his brother the Lord Peter, the Lord Thomas Berkley (son of the Lord Maurice Berkley, who died at Calais, nine years before), Ralf Lord Basset of Drayton, John Lord Warren, Peter Lord Manley, the sixth of the name, the Lord John Willoughby de Eresby, the Lord Bartholomew de Burghersh, the Lord William Felton and the Lord Thomas Felton his brother, the Lord Thomas Bradestan. Sir Walter Pavely, Sir Stephen Cossington, Sir Matthew Gournay, Sir William de la More, and other English. The whole army of the Prince, including everyone, did not amount to eight thousand: when the French, counting all sorts of persons, were upwards of sixty thousand combatants; among whom were more than three thousand Knights.

The battle of Poitiers, between the Prince of Wales and the King of France.—Froissart chap. cxxi.

The Prince harangued his men; as did the marshals, by his orders; so that they were all in high spirits. Sir John Chandos placed himself near the Prince, to guard and advise him; and never, during that day, would he, on any account, quit his post.

The Lord James Audley remained also a considerable time near him; but, when he saw that they must certainly engage, he said to the Prince, "Sir, I have ever served most loyally my Lord your father, and yourself, and shall continue so to do, as long as I have life. Dear Sir, I must now acquaint you, that formerly I made a vow, if ever I should be engaged in any battle where the King your father or any of his sons were, that I would be foremost in the attack, and the best combatant on his side, or die in the attempt. I beg therefore most earnestly, as a reward for any services I may have done, that you would grant me permission honourably to quit you, that I may post myself in such wise to accomplish my vow." The Prince granted this request, and, holding out his hand to him, said; "Sir James, God grant that this day you may shine in valour above all other Knights." The Knight then set off, and posted himself at the front of the battalion, with only four Squires whom he had detained with him to guard his person. This Lord James was a prudent and valiant Knight; and by his advice the army had been drawn up in order of battle.

The engagement now began on both sides: and the battalion of the marshals was advancing before those who were intended to break the battalion of the archers, and had

entered the lane where the hedges on both sides were lined by the archers; who, as soon as they saw them fairly entered, began shooting with their bows in such an excellent manner, from each side of the hedge, that the horses, smarting under the pain of the wounds made by their bearded arrows, would not advance, but turned about, and, by their unruliness, threw their masters, who could not manage them, nor could those that had fallen get up again for the confusion: so that this battalion of the marshals could never approach that of the Prince: however, there were some Knights and Squires so well mounted, that, by the strength of their horses, they passed through, and broke the hedge, but, in spite of their efforts, could not get up to the battalion of the prince. The Lord James Audley, attended by his four Squires,* had placed himself, sword in hand, in front of this battalion, much before the rest, and was performing wonders. The battalion of the marshals was soon after put to the rout by the arrows of the archers, and the assistance of the men-at-arms, who rushed among them as they were struck down, and seized and slew them at their pleasure. In another part, the Lord John Clermont fought under his banner as long as he was able; but, being struck down, he could neither get up again nor procure his ransom: he was killed on the spot. Some say this treatment was owing to his altercation on the preceding day with Sir John Chandos.

In a short time, this battalion of the marshals was totally discomfited; for they fell back so much on each other, that the army could not advance, and those who were in the rear, not being able to get forward, fell back upon the battalion commanded by the Duke of Normandy, which was broad and thick in the front, but it was seen thin enough in the rear; for, when they learnt that the marshals had been defeated, they mounted their horses and set off. When the men-at-arms perceived that the first battalion was beaten, and that the one under the Duke of Normandy was in disorder, and beginning to open, they hastened to mount their horses, which they had, ready prepared, close at hand. As soon as they were all mounted, they gave a shout of "St. George, for Guienne!" and Sir John Chandos said to the Prince; "Sir, sir, now push forward, for the day is ours: God will this day put it in your hand. Let us make for our adversary the King of France; for where he is will lie the main stress of the business: I well know that his valour will not let him fly; and he will remain with us, if it please God and St. George: but he must be well fought with; and you have before said, that you would show yourself this day a good Knight." The Prince replied, "John, get forward; you shall not see me turn my back this day, but I will be always among the foremost." He then said to Sir Walter Woodland, his banner bearer, "Banner, advance, in the name of God and St. George." The Knight obeyed the commands of the Prince. In that part, the battle was very hot, and greatly crowded: many a one was unhorsed: and you must know, that whenever anyone fell, he could not get up again, unless he were quickly and well assisted.

The Prince charged the division of the Duke of Athens, and very sharp the encounter was, so that many were beaten down. The French, who fought in large bodies, cried out, "Montjoye St. Denis!" and the English answered them with "St. George for Guienne!" The Prince next met the battalion of Germans, under the command of the Earl of Saltzburg, the Earl of Nassau, and the Earl of Neyde; but they were soon overthrown, and put to flight. The English Archers shot so well, that none dared to come within reach of their arrows, and they put to death many who could not ransom themselves. The three above-named Earls were slain there, as well as many other Knights and Squires attached to them.

* Their names were: Dutton of Dutton,—Delves of Doddington,—Fowlehurst of Crewe,—Hawkestone of Weinchill.

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The King's battalion advanced in good order, to meet the English: many hard blows were given with swords, battle-axes, and other warlike weapons. The King of France, with the Lord Philip his youngest son, attacked the division of the marshals, the Earls of Warwick and Suffolk.

King John, on his part, proved himself a good Knight; and, if the fourth of his people had behaved as well, the day would have been his own. Those, however, who had remained with him acquitted themselves to the best of their power, and were either slain or taken prisoners. Scarcely any who were with the King attempted to escape. Among the slain, were the Duke Peter de Bourbon, the Duke of Athens, constable of France, the Bishop of Chalons in Champagne, the Lord Guiscard de Beaujeu, and the Lord of Landas. In another part of the field of battle, the Earls of Vaudemont and Genville, and the Earl of Vendôme, were prisoners. Not far from that spot were slain, the Lord William de Nesle and the Lord Eustace de Ribeaumont.

A Frenchman, running away from the battle of Poitiers, is pursued by an Englishman, who is himself made prisoner.—Froissart, chap. clxii.

It happened that, in the midst of the general pursuit, a Squire from Picardy, named John de Helennes, had quitted the King's division, and, meeting his page with a fresh horse, had mounted him, and made off as fast as he could. At that time, there was near to him the Lord of Berkeley, a young Knight, who, for the first time, had that day displayed his banner: he immediately set out in pursuit of him. When the Lord of Berkeley had followed him for some little time, John de Helennes turned about, put his sword under his arm in the manner of a lance, and thus advanced upon the Lord Berkeley, who taking his sword by the handle, flourished it, and lifted up his arm in order to strike the Squire as he passed. John de Helennes, seeing the intended stroke, avoided it, but did not miss his own; for as they passed each other, by a blow on the arm he made Lord Berkeley's sword fall to the ground. When the Knight found that he had lost his sword, and that the Squire had his, he dismounted, and made for the place where his sword lay: but he could not get there before the Squire gave him a violent thrust which passed through both his thighs, so that, not being able to help himself, he fell to the ground. John upon this dismounted, and, seizing the sword of the Knight, advanced up to him and asked him if he were willing to surrender. The Knight required his name: "I am called John de Helennes," said he, "what is your name?" "In truth, companion," replied the Knight, "my name is Thomas, and I am Lord of Berkeley, a very handsome castle situated on the "river Severn, on the borders of Wales." "Lord of Berkeley," said the Squire, "you shall be my prisoner: I will place you in safety, and take care you are healed, for you appear to me to be badly wounded." The Knight answered, "I surrender myself willingly, for you have loyally conquered me." He gave him his word that he would be his prisoner, rescued, or not. John then drew his sword out of the Knight's thighs and the wounds remained open; but he bound them up tightly, and, placing him on his horse, led him a foot-pace to Châtelherault. He continued there, out of friendship to him, for fifteen days, and had medicines administered to him. When the Knight was a little recovered, he had him placed in a litter, and conducted him safe to his house in Picardy; where he remained more than a year before he was quite cured, though he continued lame; and when he departed, he paid for his ransom six thousand nobles, so that this Squire became a Knight by the great profit he got from the Lord of Berkeley.

The manner in which King John was taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers.—Froissart, chap. clxiii.

It often happens, that fortune in war and love turns out more favourable and wonderful than could have been hoped for or expected. To say the truth, this battle which was fought near Poitiers, was very bloody and perilous: and the combatants on each side suffered

much. The pursuit continued even to the gates of Poitiers, where there was much slaughter and overthrow of men and horses; for the inhabitants of Poitiers had shut their gates, and would suffer none to enter: upon which account, there was great butchery on the causeway, before the gate, where such numbers were killed or wounded, that several surrendered themselves the moment they spied an Englishman: and there were many English archers who had four, five, or six prisoners.

The English and Gascons poured so fast upon the King's division, that they broke through the ranks by force; and the French were so intermixed with their enemies, that at times there were five men attacking one gentleman. The Lord de Chargny was slain, with the banner of France in his hands, by the Lord Reginald Cobham; and afterwards the Earl of Dammartin shared the same fate.

There was much pressing at this time, through eagerness to take the King; and those who were nearest to him, and knew him, cried out, "Surrender yourself, surrender yourself, or you are a dead man." In that part of the field was a young Knight, who was engaged by a salary in the service of the King of England; his name was Denys de Morbeque. It fortunately happened for this Knight that he was at the time near to the King of France, when he was so much pulled about; he, by dint of force, for he was very strong and robust, rushed through the crowd, and said to the King in good French, "Sire, sire, surrender yourself." The King who found himself very disagreeably situated, turning to him, asked, "To whom shall I surrender myself: to whom? Where is my cousin the Prince of Wales? If I could see him, I would speak to him." "Sire," replied Sir Denys, "he is not here; but surrender yourself to me, and I will lead you to him." "Who are you?" said the King. "Sire, I am Denys de Morbeque." The King then gave him his right hand glove, and said, "I surrender myself to you." There was much crowding and pushing about, for every one was eager to cry out, "I have taken him." Neither the King nor his youngest son Philip were able to get forward, and free themselves from the throng.

The Prince of Wales, who was as courageous as a lion, took great delight that day to combat his enemies. Sir John Chandos, who was near his person, and had never quitted it during the whole of the day, nor stopped to make prisoners, said to him towards the end of the battle; "Sir, it will be proper for you to halt here, and plant your banner on the top of this bush, which will serve to rally your forces, that seem very much scattered; for I do not see any banners or pennons of the French, nor any considerable bodies able to rally against us; and you must refresh yourself a little, as I perceive you are very much heated." Upon this the banner of the Prince was placed on a high bush; the minstrels began to play, and trumpets and clarions to do their duty.

As soon as the two marshals were come back, the Prince asked them if they knew anything of the King of France; they replied, "No, Sir, not for a certainty." The Prince then, addressing the Earl of Warwick and Lord Cobham, said, "I beg of you to mount your horses, and ride over the field, so that on your return you may bring me some certain intelligence of him." The two Barons, immediately mounting their horses, left the Prince, and made for a small hillock, that they might look about them: from their stand they perceived a crowd of men-at-arms on foot, who were advancing very slowly. The King of France was in the midst of them, and in great danger; for the English and Gascons had taken him from Sir Denys de Morbeque. When the two Barons saw this troop of people, they descended from the hillock, and sticking spurs into their horses, made up to

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1356.

them. On their arrival, they asked what was the matter: they were answered, that it was the King of France, who had been made prisoner, and that upwards of ten Knights and Squires challenged him at the same time, as belonging to each of them. The two Barons then pushed through the crowd by main force, and ordered all to draw aside. They commanded, in the name of the Prince, and under pain of instant death, that every one should keep his distance, and not approach unless ordered or desired so to do. They all retreated behind the King; and the two Barons, dismounting, advanced to the King with profound reverences, and conducted him in a peaceable manner to the Prince of Wales.

The Prince of Wales makes a handsome present to the Lord James Audley, after the Battle of Poitiers.—Froissart, chap. cxiv.

Soon after the Earl of Warwick and the Lord Reginald Cobham had left the Prince, as has been above related, he inquired from those Knights who were about him, of Lord James Audley, and asked if anyone knew what was become of him; "Yes, Sir," replied some of the company, "he is very badly wounded, and is lying in a litter hard by." "By my troth," replied the Prince, "I am sore vexed that he is so wounded. See, I beg of you, if he be able to bear being carried hither: otherwise I will come and visit him." Two Knights directly left the Prince, and coming to Lord James, told him how desirous the Prince was of seeing him. "A thousand thanks to the Prince," answered Lord James, "for condescending to remember so poor a Knight as myself." He then called eight of his servants, and had himself borne in his litter to where the Prince was. When he was come into his presence, the Prince bent down over him, and embraced him, saying: "My Lord James, I am bound to honour you very much; for, by your valour this day, you have acquired glory and renown above us all, and your prowess has proved you the bravest Knight." Lord James replied, "My Lord, you have a right to say whatever you please, but I wish it were as you have said. If I have this day been forward to serve you, it has been to accomplish a vow that I have made, and it ought not to be thought so much of." "Sir James," answered the Prince, "I and all the rest of us deem you the bravest Knight on our side in this battle; and to increase your renown, and furnish you withal to pursue your career of glory in war, I retain you henceforward, for ever, as my Knight, with five hundred marcs of yearly revenue, which I will secure to you from my estates in England." "Sir," said Lord James, "God make me deserving of the good fortune you bestow upon me."

September 19th. The English gain considerably at the Battle of Poitiers.—Froissart, chap. cxv.

Thus was this battle won, as you have heard related, in the plains of Maupertuis, two leagues from the city of Poitiers, on the 19th day of September, 1356. It commenced about nine o'clock, and was ended by noon. It was reported that all the flower of French Knighthood were slain; and that, with the King and his son the Lord Philip, seventeen Earls, without counting Barons, Knights, or Squires, were made prisoners, and from five to six thousand of all sorts left dead upon the field. When they were all collected, they found they had twice as many prisoners as themselves.

When all were returned to their banners, they retired to their camp, which was adjoining to the field of battle. Some disarmed themselves, and did the same to their prisoners, to whom they showed every kindness; for whoever made any prisoners, they were solely at his disposal, to ransom or not as he pleased. It may be easily supposed that all those who accompanied the Prince were very rich in glory and wealth, as well by the ransoms of his prisoners, as by the quantities of gold and silver plate, rich jewels, and trunks stuffed full of belts, that were weighty from their gold and silver ornaments, and furred mantles. They set no value on armour, tents, or other things; for the French had come there as magnificently and richly dressed as if they had been sure of gaining the victory.

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The Lord James Audley gives to his Squires the pension of five hundred mares he had received from the Prince.—Froissart, chap. clxvi.

When the Lord James Audley was brought back to his tent, after having most respectfully thanked the Prince for his gift, he did not remain long before he sent for his brother, Sir Peter Audley, the Lord Bartholomew Burghersh, Sir Stephen Coffington, Lord Willoughby of Eresby, and Lord William Ferrers of Groby: they were all his relations. He then sent for his four Squires that had attended upon him that day, and addressing himself to the Knights, said: "Gentlemen, it has pleased my Lord the Prince to give me five hundred mares as a yearly inheritance; for which I have done him very trifling bodily service. You see here these four Squires, who have always served me most loyally, and especially in this day's engagement. What glory I may have gained has been through their means, and by their valour; on which account I wish to reward them. I therefore give and resign into their hands the gift of five hundred mares, which my lord the Prince has been pleased to bestow on me, in the same form and manner that it has been presented to me. I disinherit myself of it, and give it to them simply, and without a possibility of revoking it." The Knights present looked on each other, and said, "It is becoming the noble mind of Lord James to make such a gift;" and then unanimously added: "May the Lord God remember you for it! We will bear witness of this gift to them wheresoever and whensoever they may call upon us." They then took leave of him; when some went to the Prince of Wales, who that night was to give a supper to the King of France from his own provisions: for the French had brought vast quantities with them, which were now fallen into the hands of the English, many of whom had not tasted bread for the last three days.

1360.

The King prepareth to make a journie into France.—Holinshed, vol. III., p. 392

The King meaning to passe ouer himselfe in person into France, caused a mightie armie to be mustered and put in a readinesse, and sent before him the Duke of Lancaster ouer to Calis with foure hundred speares, and two thousand Archers, where the said Duke joined with such strangers as were alreadie come to Calis in great numbers, and together with them entered into the French dominions, and passing by Saint Omers and Bethune, came to Mount Saint Eloie, a goodlie abbeie and a rich, two leagues distant from Arras, and there the host tarried foure daies, and when they had robbed and wasted all the countrie thereabout, they rode to Braie, and there made a great assault, at the which a Baronet of England was slaine with diuerse other. When the Englishmen saw they could win nothing there, they departed, and following the water of Some, came to a towne called Chersie, where they passed the riuer, and there tarried Alhallowen daie, and the night following.

Braie assaulted

The King's arrival at Calais.—Holinshed, vol. III., p. 392.

On the same daie the Duke of Lancaster was aduertised, that the King was arriued at Calis the seuenteenth daie of October, commanding him by letters to draw towards him with all his companie. The Duke according to the King's commandement obeied, and so returned toward Calis. The King being there arriued with all his power, tooke counsell which way he should take. Some aduised him first to inuade Flanders, and to reuenge the iniurious dealing of the Earle and the Flemings: but he would not agree to that motion, for he purposed fullie either by plaine force to make a conquest of France, or else vtterlie to destroie and wast the countrie throughout with fier and sword. Herevpon he set forwards the fourth of November, and passing through the countries of Arthois, and Vermendois, he came before the citie of Reimes. There went ouer with him in this iournie, and with the Duke of Lancaster, his foure sonnes, Edward Prince of Wales, Lionell Earle of Ulster, John Earle of Richmond, and the Lord Edmund his youngest sonne. Also there was Henrie the said Duke of Lancaster, with the Earles of March,

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Warwike, Suffolke, Hereford, (who also was Earle of Northampton), Salisburie, Stafford, and Oxford, the Bishops of Lincolne, and Durham, and the Lords Percie, Neuill, Spenser, Kirdiston, Rosse, Maunie, Cobham, Mowbray, De la Ware, Willoughbie, Felton, Basset, Fitz Water, Charleton, Audelie, Burwasch, and others, beside Knights and Esquires, as Sir John Chandois, Sir Stephen Goussanton, Sir Nowell Loring, Sir Hugh Hastings, Sir John Lisle, Sir Richard Pembruge, and others.

The siege was laid before Reimes about Saint Andrewes tide, and continued more than seuen weekes: but the citie was so well defended by the Bishop and the Earle of Porcien, and other capiteins within it, that the Englishmen could not obteine their purpose, and so at length, when they could not haue forrage nor other necessarie things abroad in the countrie for to serue their turne, the King raised his field, and departed with his armie in good order of battell, taking the way through Champaigne, and so passed by Chaalons, and after to Merie on the riuer of Seine. From Merie he departed and came vnto Tonnere, which towne about the beginning of the foure and thirtith yeare of his reigne was woone by assault, but the castell could not be woone, for there was within it the Lord Fiennes, Constable of France, and a great number of other good men of war, which defended it valiantlie.

Tonnere won.

1369.
The King of France, intending to send a large Naval Armament to the English Coast, is prevented by the arrival of the Duke of Lancaster at Calais.—Froissart, chap. cclxvii.

The King of France, during the summer (1369), had made great preparations of ships, barges, and other vessels in the port of Harfleur, with the intent of sending a large force to England, well furnished with men at arms, Knights and Squires. His brother, the Lord Philip, Duke of Burgundy, was appointed commander of this army, which was to destroy all England. The King of France fixed his residence in the good city of Rouen, in order to attend more promptly to this business. He visited his fleet two or three times every week, to which he showed much affection. Added to this, his summons were so extensive that it was wonderful to see the numbers of men-at-arms who were collected in Vexin, Beauvoisis, and in the neighbourhood of Rouen. Provisions and other stores were so abundantly brought there, that they would have been sufficient for a voyage to Spain or Portugal. The Lord de Clisson, who was one of the privy counsellors to the King, approved not of this expedition to England, and did all he could to dissuade the King and his nobles from it. He told them, they were not so much accustomed to naval engagements as the English, and urged many reasons in support of this, as one who was better acquainted with the manners and habits of the English, and the state of that country, than many others. Notwithstanding this, neither the King nor his council would change their mind, but resolved this armament should sail.

The King of England and his son the Duke of Lancaster, as well as several of his council, had received information of this army, and of the intentions of the French to invade and carry the war into England. They were much rejoiced at this, and had provided all the ports and harbours opposite to Ponthieu and Normandy with sufficient garrisons of men-at-arms and archers to receive them, if they should come. The whole kingdom of England was ready prepared to give them a good reception whenever they should land. The King, having determined to send the Duke of Lancaster, with a body of men-at-arms to Calais, immediately named those whom he ordered to accompany him. There were the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Warwick, Sir Walter Manny, the Lord Roos of Hamlake, Sir Henry Percy, the Lord Basset, the Lord Willoughby of Eresby, the Lord Delaware, the Lord de la Pole, Sir Thomas Grandison, Sir Alan Boxhall, Sir Richard Stury, and many others; the whole force amounted to about five hundred men-at-arms,

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and as many archers. They marched to Dover and its neighbourhood. When the transports were ready, they embarked, and having a favourable wind, arrived at the strong town of Calais, where they landed, and by little and little disembarked everything which belonged to them. They took up their quarters in the town.

1370. Four Knights of Brittany take the Castle of Mont-paon. — Froissart, chap. cxcix.

There issued forth from the garrison of Perigord upwards of two hundred lances of Bretons, whom the Duke of Anjou had sent and posted there. They were commanded by four valiant and hardy Knights, whose names were, Sir William de Longueval, Sir Alain de la Houssaye, Sir Louis de Mailly, and the Lord d'Arcy. These Knights marched with their men to a handsome and strong castle called Mont-paon, of which a Knight was Lord. When these Bretons arrived, and had advanced up to the barriers, they manœuvred as if they intended an immediate assault, and completely surrounded it. Upon which Sir William de Mont-paon, proving he had more of French courage than English, turned to them, and in short surrendered. He gave admittance to these Knights and their companions into his castle, of which they took possession, and said they would defend it against all the world. They repaired and added to it whatever might have been wanting.

Intelligence of this was soon carried to Bordeaux, when the Duke of Lancaster told the Barons they were inactive, for that the Bretons had made an incursion, and had taken Mont-paon, which was close to their borders. Indeed, when the Duke and Barons first heard of this, they were much ashamed and made immediate preparations for marching towards that part; they set out from the city of Bordeaux on a Wednesday after dinner. With the Duke of Lancaster there were many Knights and Barons of Poitou and Saintonge. From Gascony were, the Captal de Buch, the Lord de Pommiers, and several others. Of the English were, Sir Thomas Felton, Lord Thomas Percy, the Lord Roos, Sir Michael de la Pole, the Lord Willoughby, Sir William Beauchamp, Sir Richard de Pontchardon, Sir Baldwin de Franville, the Earl of Angus, and many more. They were in all rather more than seven hundred spears and five hundred archers.

The four Knights defend themselves against the Duke of Lancaster. — The Duke, on taking the place, admits them to ransom.—Froissart, chap. cxcx.

When the Duke of Lancaster was arrived at Mont-paon, with all his Barons, Knights, and men-at-arms, he immediately laid siege to it. They built themselves substantial huts all round the castle. They were not, however, idle, but began the assault with great vigour, and had large quantities of wood and faggots cut down by the peasants, and carried to the ditches, which they threw in and covered with large beams and earth; by which means they were so filled up that they could advance to the walls to skirmish with the garrison, as was daily done, and there were many gallant conflicts. The four Breton Knights in the castle were right good men-at-arms. They were not dismayed, however near the English or Gascons might advance, and never suffered them to return conquerors.

In the garrison of St. Macaire, which belonged to the Bretons, were John de Malestroit and Silvestre Budes, the governors of it, who, hearing every day of the great feats of arms which were doing before Mont-paon, were anxious to be partakers of them. They conversed frequently on this subject, saying, "Since we know that our companions are so near to us, and are continually fighting, whilst we remain here doing of nothing, we certainly do not act well." When their companions had all spoken, they began to consider the danger there might be, if they should leave the garrison without one of the commanders. Silvestre Budes said, "By God, I will go." "Silvestre," replied John, "you shall stay, and I will go." This dispute continued some time. At last they agreed to draw straws, and that he who had the longest straw should go, and the other remain.

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Upon which they drew straws, and Silvestre Budes had the longest, which created a great laugh among the company. Silvestre did not take it for a joke, but went and made himself ready: when, mounting his horse, he set off with eleven men-at-arms, and rode for the castle of Mont-paon.

There were continued attacks every day made on Mont-paon. The English had brought thither large machines and other engines of assault, which they could now place near to the walls where the ditches were filled up. There were also footmen covered with large shields, who worked with pick-axes, and laboured so earnestly that one afternoon they flung down upwards of forty feet of the wall. The Lords of the army directly ordered out a body of archers, who kept up so well-directed and sharp an attack with their arrows, that none could stand against them, nor even show themselves. Upon this, Sir William de Longueval, Sir Alain de la Houssaye, Sir Louis de Mailly, and the Lord d'Arcy, finding from this situation that they could not any longer hold out, sent one of their heralds mounted on horseback, through the breach, to speak with the Duke of Lancaster; for they wished, if possible, to enter into a treaty. The herald advanced to the Duke, way being made for him, and explained the business on which he was sent. The Duke, by the advice of those about him, granted an armistice to the garrison during the time of a parley; and the herald returned with his answer to his masters. The four Knights directly came forward upon the ditch, and the Duke sent Sir Guiscard d'Angle to hold a parley with them.

Upon the ditch, therefore, they entered on a treaty, by asking, "In what sort or manner does the Duke intend to make us prisoners?" Sir Guiscard, who had received his instructions, replied: "Gentlemen, you have greatly displeased my Lord; for you have detained him here several weeks, which has fretted him very much, and caused the loss of several of his men, for which reasons, he will not receive you, nor grant you mercy, but will have you surrender yourselves simply to him. He also insists on Sir William de Mont-paon being first given up, for him to be dealt with according to his deserts as a traitor." Sir Louis de Mailly replied: "Sir Guiscard, in regard to Sir William de Mont-paon, whom you require from us, we swear truly and loyally that we are ignorant what is become of him, for he did not remain in this town a moment after you had begun to besiege it. But it will be very hard for us to surrender ourselves in the manner you insist on, who are soldiers sent here for pay, just as your commanders may send you, or you may be obliged to it by personal service; and, before we accept of such a bargain, we will sell our lives so dearly that report shall speak of it a hundred years hence. Return, therefore, to the Duke of Lancaster, and tell him to accept of us in a courteous manner, upon certain terms of ransom, as he would wish should be done to any of his party, should they happen to be so unfortunate."

Sir Guiscard answered, that he would very willingly do so to the utmost of his power. With these words, he returned to the Duke, and took with him the Captal de Buch, the Lords de Rosen and de Mucident, the better to forward the business. When these Lords were come into the Duke's presence, they remonstrated with him so eloquently, and with such good success, that he granted their request, and received the four Knights, with Silvestre Budes, and their men, in mercy as prisoners.

Thus had he once more possession of the castle of Mont-paon, and received the homage of the inhabitants of the town.

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1373.

Lord Willoughby's death.—Dugdale, pp. 83, 84.

Willoughby, having been summon'd to Parliament from 24 Edward 3. till 44 of that King's reign inclusive, departed this life upon Monday next ensuing the Festival of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, in 46 Edward 3.

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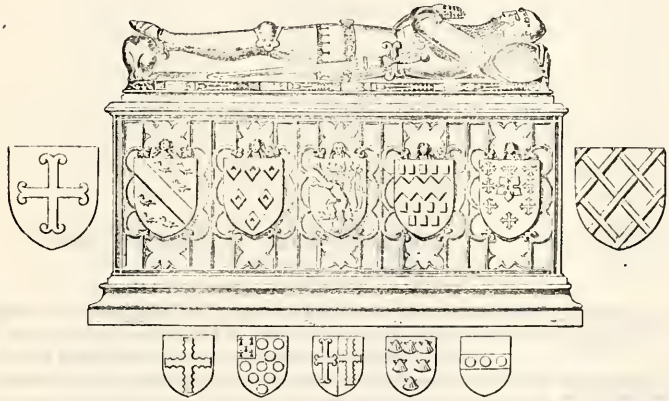
1373.

Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1370.

His Lordship married Cicely, daughter of Robert de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, and was succeeded by his son, Robert.



MONUMENT OF LORD WILLOUGHBY, IN SPILSBY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.

Robert Willoughby, IV. Lord Willoughby.

EDWARD III
1373.

THIS Robert, soon after, doing his Homage and Fealty, had Livery of his Lands: and, in 47 Edward 3. being then retein'd by Indenture to serve the King with Thirty Men at Arms, and Thirty Archers, arrived with the Duke of Lancaster, at Calais.

Lord Willoughby does homage and serves the king.—Dugdale, p. 84.

In the moneth of Julie in this seuen and fourtith yeare of King Edward's reigne, the duke of Lancaster was sent ouer vnto Calis with an Armie of thirtie thousand men (as some write) but as Froissard saith, they were but thirteene thousand, as three thousand men of armes, and ten thousand archers. This voiage had beene in preparing for the space of three yeares before. The Duke of Britaine was there with them, and of the English nobilitie, beside the duke of Lancaster that was their generall, there were the earles of Warwike, Stafford and Suffolke, the Lord Edward Spenser that was constable of the host, the lords Willoughbie, de la Pole, Basset, and diuerse others. Of knights, Sir Henrie Percie, Sir Lewes Clifford, Sir William Beauchampe, the Chanon Robertsart, Walter Hewet, Sir Hugh Caluerlie, Sir Stephen Cousington, Sir Richard Ponchardon, and manie other.

The Duke of Lancaster sent ouer into France with an armie.—Holinshed, vol. III. p. 408.

Noblemen that went with him in that journie.

When they had made readie their cariages and other things necessarie for such a iournie which they had taken in hand, that is to say, to passe through the realme of France vnto Burdeaux, they set forward, hauing their armie diuided into three battels. The earles of Warwike and Suffolke did lead the foreward: the two dukes of Lancaster and Britaine,

They passed through the countrie without assaulting any towns.

EDWARD III.
1372.

the middle ward or battell, and the rereward was gouerned by the Lord Spenser constable of the host. They passed by S. Omers, by Turrouane, and coasted the countrie of Arthois, and passed the water of Some at Corbie. They destroied the countries as they went, and marched not past three leages a day. They assailed none of the strong townes nor fortresses. For the French king had so stuffed them with notable nurobers of men of warre, that they perceiued they should trauell in vaine about the winning of them. At Roy in Vermandois, they rested them seuen daies, and at their departure set fire on the towne, because they could not win the church which was kept against them. From thence they drew towards Laon, and so marched forward, passing the rivers of Ysare, Marne, Saine, and Yonne. The Frenchmen coasted them, but durst not approch to give them battell.

The Frenchmen meant not to fight with the Englishmen.—Holinshed, vol. III., p. 403.

Neere to Ribaumount, about 80 Englishmen of Sir Hugh Caluerlie's band were distressed by 120 Frenchmen: and likewise beside Soissons, 120 English speares, or (as other writers haue) fiftie speares, and twentie archers were vanquished by a Burgonian knight called Sir John de Vienne, that had with him three hundred French speares. Of more hurt by anie incounters I read not that the Englishmen susteined in this voiage. For the Frenchmen kept them aloofe, and meant not to fight with their enemies, but onelie to keepe them from vittels, and fetching of forrage abroad, by reason whereof the Englishmen lost manie horsses, and were indeed driuen to great scarsitie of vittels. When they had passed the riuer of Loire, and were come into the countrie of Berrie, they vnderstood how the Frenchmen laid themselues in sundrie ambushes to distresse them, if they might espie the aduantage: but the Duke of Lancaster placing his light horssemen, with part of the archers in the fore ward, and in the battell the whole force of his footmen with the men at armes, diuided into wings to couer that battell, wherein he himselfe was, the residue of the horssemen with the rest of the archers he appointed to the rereward, and so causing them to keepe close togither, marched foorth till he came into Poictou, and then in reuenge of the Poictouins that had reuolted from the English obeisance, he began a new spoile, killing the people, wasting the countrie, and burning the houses and buildings euerie where as he passed.

The order of the Duke of Lancaster's armie in marching.

The Archbishop of Rauenna sent from the Pope.

Whilest the Duke of Lancaster was thus passing through the realme of France, Popo Gregorie the eleuenth sent the Archbishop of Rauenna, and the Bishop of Carpentras as legats from him, to treat for a peace betwixt the realms of England and France. They rode to and fro betwixt the French King and his brethren, and the Duke of Lancaster: but the Duke and the Englishmen kept on their waie, and so finallie keeping forwards about Christmasse came to Burdeaux. The legats pursued their treatie, but the parties were so hard, that no reasonable offers would be taken. The two Dukes of Lancaster and Britaine laie in Burdeaux all the residue of the winter, and the Lent following.

1374.
Commissioners appointed to meet and commune of peace.—Holinshed, p. 403.

At the sute of the Popes legats, a respit of war was granted. It was further agreed vpon, that in the beginning of September, there should meet in the marches of Picardie, the Duke of Lancaster, and other of the English part, as commissioners to intreat of peace: and the Duke of Anion and other on the French part, the Popes legat to be there also as mediator. When this agreement was thus accorded, the Duke of Lancaster, and the Duke of Britaine, with the Earls of Warwike, Suffolke and Stafford, the Lords Spenser, Willoughbie and others, tooke the sea at Burdeaux, the eight of Julie, and returned into England.

1382.
RICHARD II.
Lord Willoughby found one of the co-heirs of the Earls of Suffolk.—Dugdale, p. 81.

In this year also Willoughby was in that expedition, then made into Flanders; and, in 5 Richard 2. upon the death of William de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, was found to be one of

RICHARD II.
1382.

his co-heirs. In 9 Richard 2. he accompanyed John of Gant Duke of Lancaster into Spain, for recovery of the inheritance of Constance his wife; and in 10 Richard 2. was again retained by Indenture to serve the King for the defence of this Realm.

Lord Willoughby in Spain —Dugdale, p. 84.

1396.

He departed this life upon the ninth day of August, 20 Richard 2.

Lord Willoughby's death.—Dugdale, p. 84.

Effigies of Lord Willoughby, and Elizabeth his Third Wife in Spilsby Church, Lincolnshire.

RICHARD II. 1390.

Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1370.

Lord Willoughby married Alice, elder daughter of Sir William Skipwith, Knt., Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, temp. Edward III., by whom he had

WILLIAM, his successor.

THOMAS, ancestor of the Lords Willoughby de Broke.

JOHN, ancestor of the Willoughbys, Baronets, of Baldon House, Oxon

SEAL OF LORD WILLOUGHBY,

From the Harley MS 245, f. 97 b.

William Willoughby, V. Lord Willoughby, K.G.

RICHARD II.
1399.

THIS William had Livery of his Lands; and was one of the Peers in that Parliament of 22 Richard 2 at which time King Richard made a formal Resignation of his Kingly Dignity.

Lord Willoughby one of the Peers of Parliament — Dugdale, p. 84.

The Life and Death of King Richard II.
ACT II.

Shakspeare, Bowdler's Edition, 1853.

Scene I.—London. *A Room in Ely House.*

Persons represented.

King Richard the Second.
Edmund of Langley, Duke of York } Uncles to the King.
John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster }
Duke of Aumerle, (Son to the Duke of York).
Bushy }
Bagot } Creatures to King Richard.
Green }
Earl of Northumberland.
Lord Ross.
Lord Willoughby.
Queen to King Richard.

Gaunt *on a Couch; the* Duke of York *and others standing by him.*

Gaunt. Will the king come? that I may breathe my last
In wholesome counsel to his unstay'd youth.
York. Vex not yourself, nor strive not with your breath;
For all in vain comes counsel to his ear.
Enter King Richard, *and* Queen; Aumerle, Bushy, Green, Bagot, Ross, *and* Willoughby.
The king is come: deal mildly with his youth;
For young hot colts, being rag'd, do rage the more.
Queen. How fares our noble uncle, Lancaster?
K. Rich. What comfort, man? How is't with aged Gaunt?
Gaunt. O, how that name befits my composition!
Old Gaunt, indeed; and gaunt* in being old:
Within me grief hath kept a tedious fast;
And who abstains from meat, that is not gaunt?
For sleeping England long time have I watch'd;
Watching breeds leanness, leanness is all gaunt:
The pleasure that some fathers feed upon,
Is my strict fast, I mean—my children's looks;
And, therein fasting, hast thou made me gaunt:
Gaunt am I for the grave, gaunt as a grave,
Whose hollow womb inherits nought but bones.
K. Rich. Can sick men play so nicely with their names?
Gaunt. No, misery makes sport to mock itself:
Since thou dost seek to kill my name in me,
I mock my name, great king, to flatter thee.
K. Rich. Should dying men flatter with those that live?
Gaunt. No, no; men living flatter those that die.
K. Rich. Thou, now a dying, say'st—thou flatter'st me.
Gaunt. Oh! no; thou diest, though I the sicker be.
K. Rich. I am in health, I breathe, and see thee ill.
Gaunt. Now, He that made me, knows I see thee ill;
Ill in myself to see, and in thee seeing ill,
Thy death-bed is no lesser than the land,
Wherein thou liest in reputation sick:
And thou, too careless patient as thou art,
Commit'st thy anointed body to the cure

* Lean, thin.

Of those physicians that first wounded thee:
A thousand flatterers sit within thy crown,
Whose compass is no bigger than thy head;
And yet, menaged in so small a verge,
The waste is no whit lesser than thy land.
O, had thy grandsire, with a prophet's eye,
Seen how his son's son should destroy his sons,
From forth thy reach he would have laid thy shame;
Deposing thee before thou wert possess'd,
Which art possess'd now to depose thyself.
Why, cousin, wert thou regent of the world,
It were a shame to let this land by lease:
But, for thy world, enjoying but this land,
Is it not more than shame, to shame it so?
Landlord of England art thou now, not king:
Thy state of law is bondslave to the law;
And thou——

K. Rich.——a lunatick lean-witted fool,
Presuming on an ague's privilege,
Dar'st with thy frozen admonition
Make pale our cheek; chasing the royal blood,
With fury, from his native residence.
Now by my seat's right royal majesty,
Wert thou not brother to great Edward's son,
This tongue that runs so roundly in thy head,
Should run thy head from thy unreverend shoulders.

Gaunt. O, spare me not, my brother Edward's son,
For that I was his father Edward's son;
That blood already, like the pelican,
Hast thou tapp'd out, and drunkenly carous'd:
My brother Gloster, plain well-meaning soul,
(Whom fair befall in heaven, 'mongst happy souls!)
May be a precedent and witness good,
That thou respect'st not spilling Edward's blood:
Join with the present sickness that I have;
And thy unkindness be like crooked age,
To crop at once a too-long wither'd flower.
Live in thy shame, but die not shame with thee!—
These words hereafter thy tormentors be,—
Convey me to my bed, then to my grave:
Love they to live, that love and honour have.

[*Exit, borne out by his Attendants.*

K. Rich. And let them die, that age and sullens have;
For both hast thou, and both become the grave.

York. Beseech your majesty, impute his words
To wayward sickliness and age in him:
He loves you, on my life, and holds you dear
As Harry duke of Hereford, were he here.

K. Rich. Right; you say true: as Hereford's love, so his:
As theirs, so mine; and all be as it is.

Enter NORTHUMBERLAND.

North. My liege, old Gaunt commends him to your majesty.

K. Rich. What says he now?

North. Nay, nothing; all is said:
His tongue is now a stringless instrument;
Words, life, and all, old Lancaster hath spent.

York. Be York the next that must be bankrupt so!
Though death be poor it ends a mortal woe.

K. Rich. The ripest fruit first falls, and so doth he;
His time is spent, our pilgrimage must be:
So much for that.——Now for our Irish wars:
We must supplant those rough rug-headed kerns;*
Which live like venom, where no venom else,
But only they, hath privilege to live.
And for these great affairs do ask some charge,
Towards our assistance, we do seize to us
The plate, coin, revenues, and moveables,
Whereof our uncle Gaunt did stand possess'd.

York. How long shall I be patient? Ah, how long
Shall tender duty make me suffer wrong?
Not Gloster's death, nor Hereford's banishment,
Not Gaunt's rebukes, nor England's private wrongs,
Nor the prevention of poor Bolingbroke
About his marriage, nor my own disgrace,
Have ever made me sour my patient cheek,
Or bend one wrinkle on my sovereign's face.—
I am the last of noble Edward's sons,
Of whom thy father, prince of Wales, was first;
In war, was never lion rag'd more fierce,
In peace, was never gentle lamb more mild,
Than was that young and princely gentleman:
His face thou hast, for even so look'd he,
Accomplish'd with the number of thy hours;
But, when he frown'd, it was against the French,
And not against his friends: his noble hand
Did win what he did spend, and spent not that
Which his triumphant father's hand had won:
His hands were guilty of no kindred's blood,
But bloody with the enemies of his kin.
O, Richard! York is too far gone with grief,
Or else he never would compare between.

K. Rich. Why, uncle, what's the matter?

York. O, my liege,
Pardon me, if you please; if not, I, pleas'd
Not to be pardon'd, am content withal.
Seek you to seize, and gripe into your hands,
The royalties and rights of banish'd Hereford?
Is not Gaunt dead? and doth not Hereford live?
Was not Gaunt just? and is not Harry true?
Did not the one deserve to have an heir?
Is not his heir a well-deserving son?
Take Hereford's rights away, and take from time
His charters, and his customary rights;
Let not to-morrow then ensue to-day;
Be not thyself, for how art thou a king,
But by fair sequence and succession?
If you do wrongfully seize Hereford's rights,
Call in the letters patent that he hath
By his attornies-general to sue
His livery,† and deny his offer'd homage,
You pluck a thousand dangers on your head,
You lose a thousand well-disposed hearts,
And prick my tender patience to those thoughts
Which honour and allegiance cannot think.

K. Rich. Think what you will; we seize into our hands
His plate, his goods, his money, and his lands.

York. I'll not be by, the while: My liege, farewell:
What will ensue hereof, there's none can tell;
But by bad courses may be understood,
That their events can never fall out good. [*Exit.*

K. Rich. Go, Bushy, to the earl of Wiltshire straight;

* Irish Soldiers. † Claim possession; a law term.

Bid him repair to us to Ely-house,
To see this business: To-morrow next
We will for Ireland; and 'tis time, I trow;
And we create, in absence of ourself,
Our uncle York lord governor of England,
For he is just and always lov'd us well.—
Come on, our queen: to-morrow must we part;
Be merry, for our time of stay is short. [*Flourish.*
[*Exeunt* KING, QUEEN, BUSHY, AUMERLE, GREEN, *and* BAGOT.

North. Well, lords, the duke of Lancaster is dead.

Ross. And living too; for now his son is duke.

Willo. Barely in title, not in revenue.

North. Richly in both, if justice had her right.

Ross. My heart is great; but it must break with silence,
Ere't be disburden'd with a liberal tongue.

North. Nay, speak thy mind; and let him ne'er speak more,
That speaks thy words again, to do thee harm!

Willo. Tends that thou'dst speak, to the duke of Hereford?
If it be so, out with it boldly, man;
Quick is mine ear to hear of good towards him.

Ross. No good at all, that I can do for him;
Unless you call it good to pity him,
Stript and bereft of all his patrimony.

North. Now, afore heaven, 'tis shame, such wrongs are borne,
In him a royal prince, and many more
Of noble blood in this declining land.
The king is not himself, but basely led
By flatterers; and what they will inform,
Merely in hate, 'gainst any of us all,
That will the king severely prosecute
'Gainst us, our lives, our children, and our heirs.

Ross. The commons hath he pill'd* with grievous taxes,
And lost their hearts; the nobles hath he fin'd
For ancient quarrels, and quite lost their hearts.

Willo. And daily new exactions are devis'd;
As blanks, benevolences, and I wot not what;
But what, in heaven's name, doth become of this?

North. Wars have not wasted it; for warr'd he hath not,
But basely yielded upon compromise
That which his ancestors achiev'd with blows;
More hath he spent in peace, than they in wars.

Ross. The earl of Wiltshire hath the realm in farm.

Willo. The king's grown bankrupt, like a broken man.

North. Reproach, and dissolution, hangeth over him.

Ross. He hath not money for these Irish wars,
His burdensome taxations notwithstanding,
But by the robbing of the banish'd duke.

North. His noble kinsman: most degenerate king!
But, lords, we hear this fearful tempest sing,
Yet seek no shelter to avoid the storm:
We see the wind sit sore upon our sails,
And yet we strike not, but securely perish.*

Ross. We see the very wreck that we must suffer;
And unavoided is the danger now,
For suffering so the causes of our wreck.

North. Not so; even through the hollow eyes of death,
I spy life peering; but I dare not say
How near the tidings of our comfort is.

Willo. Nay, let us share thy thoughts, as thou dost ours

Ross. Be confident to speak, Northumberland:
We three are but thyself; and, speaking so,
Thy words are but as thoughts; therefore be bold.

North. Then thus:—I have from Port le Blanc, a bay
In Brittany, receiv'd intelligence,
That Harry Hereford, Reignold lord Cobham,
[The son of Richard Earl of Arundel,]
That late broke from the duke of Exeter,
His brother, archbishop late of Canterbury,
Sir Thomas Erpingham, sir John Ramston,
Sir John Norbery, sir Robert Waterton, and Francis Quoint,——
All these well furnish'd by the duke of Bretagne,
With eight tall† ships, three thousand men of war,
Are making hither with all due expedience‡,
And shortly mean to touch our northern shore:
Perhaps, they had ere this, but that they stay
The first departing of the king for Ireland.
If then, we shall shake off our slavish yoke,
Imp§ out our drooping country's broken wing,
Redeem from broking pawn the blemish'd crown,
Wipe off the dust that hides our sceptre's gilt,‖
And make high majesty look like itself,
Away, with me, in post to Ravenspurg:
But if you faint, as fearing to do so,
Stay, and be secret, and myself will go.

Ross. To horse, to horse! urge doubts to them that fear.

Willo. Hold out my horse, and I will first be there.
[*Exeunt.*

* Pillaged.

* Perish by confidence in our security. † Stout. ‡ Expedition.
§ Supply with new feathers. ‖ Guilding.

The Commons denie to resist the Duke of Lancaster.—Holinshed, vol. III., p. 498.

When the lord gouerner Edmund duke of Yorke was aduertised, that the duke of Lancaster kept still the sea, and was readie to arriue; he sent for the lord chancellor Edmund Stafford bishop of Excester, and for the lord treasurer William Scroope earle of Wiltshire, and other of the king's priuie councell, as John Bushie, William Bagot, Henrie Greene, and John Russell knights: of these he required to know what they thought good to be doone in this matter, concerning the duke of Lancaster, being on the seas. Their aduise was, to depart from London, vnto S. Albons, and there to gather an armie to resist the duke in his landing, but to how small purpose their counsell serued, the conclusion thereof plainlie declared, for the most part that were called, when they came thither,

RICHARD II.
1399.

boldlie protested, that they would not fight against the duke of Lancaster, whome they knew to be euill dealt withall.

The Duke of Lancaster landeth in Yorkshire.—Holinshed, vol. III., p. 498.

The lord treasurer, Bushie, Bagot, and Greene, perceiuing that the commons would cleane vnto, and take part with the duke, slipped awaie, leaning the lord gouernour of the realme, and the lord chancellor to make what shift they could for themselues: Bagot got him to Chester, and so escaped into Ireland; the other fled to the castell of Bristow, in hope there to be in safetie. The duke of Lancaster, after that he had coasted alongst the shore a certeine time, and had got some intelligence how the peoples minds were affected towards him, landed about the beginning of Julie in Yorkshire, at a place sometime called Rauenspur, betwixt Hull and Bridlington, and with him not past threescore persons, as some write: but he was so ioifullie receiued of the lords, knights and gentlemen of those parts, that he found means (by their helpe) forthwith to assemble a great number of people, that were willing to take his part. The first that came to him, were the lords of Lincolnshire, and other counties adioining, as the Lords Willoughbie, Ros, Darcie, and Beaumont.

The Duke of Lancaster's oath to the lords that aided him.

At his comming vnto Doncaster, the earle of Northumberland, and his sonne sir Henrie Persie, wardens of the marches against Scotland, with the earle of Westmerland, came vnto him, where he swore vnto those lords, that he would demand no more, but the lands that were to him descended by inheritance from his father, and in right of his wife. Moreouer, he vndertooke to cause the paiment of taxes and tallages to be laid downe, and to bring the king to good gouernment, and to remoone from him the Cheshire men, which were enuied of manie; for that the king esteemed of them more than of anie other; happilie, bicause they were more faithfull to him than other, readie in all respects to obeie his commandements and pleasure. From Doncaster hauing now got a mightie armie about him, he marched foorth with all speed through the counties, comming by Eneshaw vnto Berkelie: within the space of three daies, all the kings castels in those parts were surrendred vnto him.

The harts of the commons wholie bent to the Duke of Lancaster.

The duke of Yorke, whome King Richard had left as gouernour of the realme in his absence, hearing that his nephue the Duke of Lancaster was thus arriued, and had gathered an armie, he also assembled a puissant power of men of armes and archers (as before yee haue heard) but all was in vaine, for there was not a man that willinglie would thrust out one arrow against the duke of Lancaster, or his partakers, or in anie wise offend him or his freends. The Duke of Yorke therefore passing foorth towards Wales to meet the King, at his comming foorth of Ireland, was receiued into the castell of Berkelie, and there remained, till the comming thither of the duke of Lancaster (whom when he perceiued that he was not able to resist) on the sundaie, after the feast of saint James, which as that yeare came about, fell vpon the fridaie, he came foorth into the church that stood without the castell, and there communed with the duke of Lancaster. With the duke of Yorke were the bishops of Norwich, the lord Berkelie, the lord Seimour, and other: with the duke of Lancaster were these, Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie that had beene banished, the abbat of Leicester, the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, Thomas Arundell sonne to Richard late earle of Arundell, the baron of Greistoke, the lords Willoughbie and Ros, with diuerse other lords, knights, and other people, which dailie came to him from euerie part of the realme: those that came not were spoiled of all they had, so as they were neuer able to recouer themselues againe, for their goods being then taken awaie, were neuer restored. And thus what for loue, and what for feare of losse, they came flocking vnto him from euerie part.

RICHARD II.
1399.

The King renounces his right and title to govern England, unto Henry, Duke of Lancaster and Hereford. —Holinshed, vol. III., p. 5v.

THIS present Indenture made the nine and twentith daie of September, in the yeare of our Lord 1399. Witnesseth, that where by the authoritie of the lords spirituall and temporall of this present parlement, and commons of the same, the right honorable and discreet persons heere vnder named, were by the said authoritie assigned to go to the Tower of London, there to heare and testifie such questions and answers as then and there should be by the said honourable and discreet persons hard. Know all men, to whome these present letters shall come, that we, sir Richard Scroope archbishop of Yorke, John bishop of Hereford, Henrie earl of Northumberland, Rafe earle of Westmerland, Thomas lord Berkeleie, William abbat of Westminster, John prior of Canturburie, William Thirning and Hugh Burnell knights, John Markham iustice, Thomas Stow and John Burbadge doctors of the civill law, Thomas Erpingham and Thomas Grey knights, Thomas Ferebie and Denis Lopeham notaries publike, the daie and yeere aboue said, betweene the houres of eight and nine of the clocke before noone, were present in the cheefe chamber of the kings lodging, within the said place of the Tower, where was rehearsed vnto the king by the mouth of the foresaid earle of Northumberland, that before time at Conwaie in Northwales, the king being there at his pleasure and libertie, promised vnto the archbishop of Canturburie then Thomas Arundell, and vnto the said earle of Northumberland, that he for insufficiencie which he knew himselfe to be of, to occupie so great a charge, as to gouerne the realme of England, he would gladlie leaue of and renounce his right and title, as well of that as of his title to the crowne of France, and his maiestie roiall, vnto Henrie duke of Hereford, and that to doo in such conuenient wise, as by the learned men of this land it should most sufficientlie be deuised and ordeined. To the which rehearsall, the king in our said presences answered benignlie and said, that such promise he made, and so to do the same he was at that houre in full purpose to performe and fulfill; sauing that he desired first to haue personall speach with the said duke, and with the archbishop of Canturburie his cousins. And further, he desired to haue a bill drawne of the said resignation, that he might be perfect in the rehearsall thereof.

After which bill drawne, and a copie thereof to him by me the said earle deliuered, we the said lords and other departed: and vpon the same afternoone the king looking for the comming of the duke of Lancaster, at the last the said duke, with the archbishop of Canturburie and the persons afore recited, entered the foresaid chamber, bringing with them the lords Roos, Aburgenie, and Willoughbie, with diuerse other. Where after due obeisance doone by them vnto the king, he familiarlie and with a glad countenance (as to them and vs appeered) talked with the said archbishop and duke a good season; and that communication finished, the king with glad countenance in presence of vs and the other aboue rehearsed, said openlie, that he was readie to renounce and resigne all his kinglie maiestie in maner and forme as he before had promised. And although he had and might sufficientlie haue declared his renouncement by the reading of an other meane person; yet for the more suretie of the matter, and for that the said resignation should haue his full force and strength, himselfe therefore read the scroll of resignation.

HENRY IV.
1401.

Lord Willoughby attends the King into Scotland.—Dugdale, p. 84.

Willoughby, in 2 Henry 4, was retein'd to attend the King upon his expedition into Scotland, with three Knights, besides himself, Twenty seven men at Armes, and One hundred and Sixty nine Archers: and to continue with him from the 20th of June, till 13th of September ensuing: he had summons to Parliament from the 20th Richard 2 to 11 Henry 4.

1409.

Lord Willoughby's death. —Burke's Extinct Peerage, p. 575.

He died in 1409.

HENRY IV.
1409.

Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1370.

Married Lucy, daughter of Roger, Lord Strange of Knockyn, by whom he had

ROBERT, his successor.

Thomas, (Sir), a celebrated warrior, who received the honour of knighthood for his valour in the field. He married Joan, daughter and co-heir of Sir Richard Arundell, Knt., and was succeeded by his elder son,

Robert (Sir), who was also found to be next heir male to his uncle, Robert, Lord Willoughby, 50 Henry VI. He married Cicely, second daughter of Leo, Lord Welles, and dying 5 Edward IV., was succeeded by his eldest son,

Robert (Sir,) who died in two years afterwards, and was succeeded by his brother,

Christopher (Sir), who married Margaret, daughter of Sir William Jooney, of Knottshall, Suffolk, and had issue,

WILLIAM, his successor, of whom hereafter, as 10th Lord Willoughby;

Christopher from whom the Lords Willoughby of Parham derived;

Thomas, ancestor of Lord Middleton.

Lord Willoughby was succeeded by his elder son, Robert.

ARMS OF LORD WILLOUGHBY.
(From Ashmole's Order of the Garter.)

Robert Willoughby, VI. Lord Willoughby, K.G.

THIS Robert, being a most active and heroick person, in the 3 Henry 5, attended that warlike king into France, and was with him when he took Hareflew.

Lord Willoughby attends the King into France.—Dugdale, p. 85.

The fiue and twentith of October 1415, being then Fridaie, and the feast of Crispine and Crispinian, a day faire and fortunate to the English, but most sorrowful and vnluckie to the French.

Battle of Agincourt.—Holinshed, vol. III., p. 562.

In the morning, the French Capteins made three battels, in the vaward were eight thousand healmes of knights and esquiers, foure thousand archers, and fifteene hundred crosbowes which were guided by the Lord de la Breth, constable of France, hauing with him the dukes of Orleance and Burbon, the earles of Ewe and Richmond, the marshall Bouciqualt, and the maister of the crosbowes, the lord Dampier admerall of France, and other Capteins. The earl of Vandosme with sixteene hundred men of armes were ordered for a wing to that battell. And the other wing was guided by sir Guichard Dolphine, sir Chignet of Brabant, and sir Lewes Bourdon, with eight hundred men at armes, of elect chosen persons. And to breake the shot of the Englishmen, were appointed sir Guilliam de Saueuses, with Hector and Philip his brethren, Ferrie de Maillie and Alen de Gaspanes with other eight hundred of armes.

In the middle ward, were assigned as manie persons, or more, as were in the foremost battell, and the charge thereof was committed to the dukes of Bar and Alanson, the earles of Neuers, Vaudemont, Blamont, Salinges, Grant Prée, and of Russie. And in the rereward were all the other men of armes guided by the earles of Marle, Dampmartine, Faueonberg, and the lord of Lourreie capteine of Arde, who had with him the men of the frontiers of Bolonois. Thus the Frenchmen being ordered vnder their standards and banners, made a great shew: for suerlie they were esteemed in number six times as manie or more, than was the whole companie of the Englishmen, with wagoners, pages and all. They rested themselues waiting for the bloudie blast of the terrible trumpet, till the houre betweene nine and ten of the clocke of the same daie, during which season, the constable made vnto the capteins and other men of warre a pithie oration, exhorting and incouraging them to doo valiantlie, with manie comfortable words and sensible reasons. King Henrie also like a leader, and not as one led: like a sovereigne, and not an inferior, perceiuing a plot of ground verie strong and meet for his purpose, which on the backe halfe was fenced with the village, wherein he had lodged the night before, and on both sides defended with hedges and bushes, thought good there to imbattell his host, and so ordered his men in the same place, as he saw occasion, and as stood for his most aduantage.

The French esteemed six to one English.

HENRY V.
1415.

Battle of Agincourt.—The order of the English armie and archers.—Holinshed, vol. III., p. 553.

First he sent priuilie two hundred archers into a lowe medow, which was neere to the vauntgard of his enimies: but separated with a great ditch, commanding them there to keepe themselues close till they had a token to them giuen to let drive at their aduersaries, beside this, he appointed a vaward, of the which he made capteine, Edward duke of Yorke, who of an haultie courage had desired that office, and with him were the lords Beaumont, Willoughbie, and Fanhope, and this battell was all of archers. The middle ward was gouerned by the king himselfe, with his brother the duke of Glocester, and the Earles of Marshall, Oxenford, and Suffolke, in the which were all the strong bilmen. The duke of Excester vncle to the king led the rereward, which was mixed both with bilmen and archers. The horssemen like wings went on euerieside of the battell.

The vaward all of archers.

Archers the greatest force of the English armie.

Thus the king hauing ordered his battels, feared not the puissance of his enimies, but yet to prouide that they should not with the multitude of horssemen breake the order of his archers, in whome the force of his armie consisted. [For in those daies the yeomen had their lims at libertie, sith their hosen were then fastened with one point, and their jackes long and easie to shoot in; so that they might draw bowes of great strength, and shoot arrowes of a yard long; beside the head] he caused stakes bound with iron sharpe at both ends, of the length of fiue or six foot, to be pitched before the archers, and of ech side the footmen like an hedge, to the intent that if the barded horsses ran rashlie vpon them they might shortlie be gored and destroied. Corteine persons also were appointed to remoone the stakes, as by the mooueing of the archers occasion and time should require, so that the footmen were hedged about with stakes, and the horssemen stood like a bulwarke betweene them and their enimies, without the stakes. This deuise of fortifieng an armie, was at this time first inuented. King Henrie, by reason of his small number of people to fill up his battels, placed his vauntgard so on the right hand of the maine battell, which himselfe led, that the distance betwixt them might scarse be perceiued, and so in like case was the rereward joined on the left hand, that the one might the more readilie succour an other in time of need. When he had thus ordered his battels, he left a small companie to keepe his campe and cariage, which remained still in the village, and then calling his capteins and soldiers about him, he made to them a right graue oration, mooueing them to plaie the men, whereby to obteine a glorious victorie, as there was hope corteine they should, the rather if they would but remember the just cause for which they fought, and whome they should incounter, such faint-harted people as their ancestors had so often ouercome. To conclude, manie words of courage he vttered, to stirre them to doo manfullie, assuring them that England should neuer be charged with his ransome, nor anie Frenchman triumph ouer him as a captiue, for either by famous death or glorious victorie would he (by God's grace) win honour and fame.

A politike inuention.

King Henrie's oration to his men.

Whilest the king was yet thus in speech, either armie so maligned the other, being as then in open sight, that euerie man cried, Forward, forward. The dukes of Clarence, Glocester, and Yorke, were of the same opinion, yet the king staied a while, least anie jeopardie were not foreseene, or anie hazard not preuented. The Frenchmen in the meane while, as though they had been sure of victorie, made great triumph, for the capteins had determined before how to diuide the spoile, and the soldiers the night before had plaid the Englishmen at dice. The noble men had deuised a chariot, wherein they might triumphantlie conueie the king captiue to the citie of Paris, crieng to their soldiers: Haste you to the spoile, glorie and honour, little weening (God wot) how soone their brags should be blowne awaie.

They thought themselues so sure of victorie, that diuerse of the noble men made such

Battle of Agincourt.—— Holinshed, vol. III., p. 554.

hast towards the battell, that they left manie of their seruants and men of warre behind them, and some of them would not once staie for their standards: as amongst other the duke of Brabant, when his standard was not come, caused a banner to be taken from a trumpet and fastened to a speare, the which he commanded to be borne before him in steed of his standard.

But when both these armies comming within danger either of other, set in full order of battell on both sides, they stood still at the first, beholding either others demeanour, being not distant in sunder past three bow shoots. Therevpon all things considered, it was determined, that sith the Frenchmen would not come forward, the king with his armie inbattlled should march towards them.

The English gaue the onset.

These made somewhat forward, before whome there went an old knight Sir Thomas Erpingham with a warder in his hand: and when he cast up his warder, all the armie shouted, but that was a signe to the archers in the medow, which therwith shot wholie altogether at the vauward of the Frenchmen, who when they perceiued the archers in the medow, and saw they could not come at them for a ditch that was betwixt them, with all hast set vpon the foreward of king Henrie, but yet they could joine, the archers in the forefront, and the archers on that side which stood in the medow, so wounded the footmen, galled the horsses, and combred the men of armes, that the footmen durst not go forward, the horssemen ran togither upon plumps without order, some ouerthrew such as were next them, and the horsses ouerthrew their masters, and so at the first joining, the Frenchmen were foulie discomforted, and the Englishmen highlie incouraged.

The two armies join battell.

The vauward of the French discomfited.

When the French vauward was thus brought to confusion, the English archers cast awaie their bowes, and tooke into their hands, axes, malls, swords, bills, and other handweapons, and with the same slue the Frenchmen, untill they came to the middle ward. Then approched the king, and so incouraged his people, that shortlie the second battell of the Frenchmen was ouerthrowne, and dispersed, not without great slaughter of men: howbeit, diuerse were releeued by their varlets, and conueied out of the field. The Englishmen were so busied in fighting, and taking of the prisoners at hand, that they followed not in chase of their enimies, nor would once breake out of their arraie of battell. Yet sundrie of the Frenchmen stronglie withstood the fiercenesse of the English, when they came to handie strokes, so that the fight sometime was doubtfull and perillous. Yet as part of the French horssemen set their course to haue entered vpon the kings battell, with the stakes ouerthrowne, they were either taken or slaine. Thus this battell continued three long houres.

Their battell beaten.

A valiant King.

The king that daie shewed himselfe a valiant knight, albeit almost felled by the duke of Alanson, yet with plaine strength he slue two of the dukes companie, and felled the duke himselfe; whome when he would haue yelded, the king's gard (contrarie to his mind) slue out of hand. In conclusion, the king minding to make an end of that daies tornie, caused his horssemen to fetch a compasse about, and to joine with him against the rereward of the Frenchmen, in the which was the greatest number of people. When the Frenchmen perceiued his intent, they were suddenlie amazed and ran awaie like sheepe, without order or arraie. Which when the king perceiued, he incouraged his men, and followed so quickelie vpon the enimies, that they ran hither and thither, casting awaie their armour: manie on their knees desired to haue their liues saued.

The French rereward discomfited.

Captains Robinet of Borneuill, Rifflart of Clamas, Isambert of Agincourt, and other men of armes, to the number of six hundred horssemen, which were the first that fled, hearing

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Battle of Agincourt.—The King's Campe robbed. —— Holinshed, vol. III., pp. 564, 565.

that the English tents and pauilions were a good waie distant from the armie, without anie sufficient gard to defend the same, entred upon the king's campe, and there spoiled the hails, robbed the tents, brake vp chests, and caried awaie caskets, and slue such seruants as they found to make anie resistance.

But when the outcrie of the lackies and boies, which ran awaie for feare of the Frenchmen thus spoiling the campe, came to the king's eares, he doubting least his enimies should gather togither againe, and begin a new field; contrarie to his accustomed gentlenes, commanded by sound of trumpet, that euerie man (vpon paine of death) should incontinentlie slaie his prisoner. When this dolorous decree, and pitiful proclamation was pronounced, pitie it was to see how some Frenchmen were suddenlie sticked with daggers, some were brained with pollaxes, some slaine with malls, others had their throats cut, so that in effect, hauing respect to the great number, few prisoners were saued.

All the prisoners slaine.

When this lamentable slaughter was ended, the Englishmen disposed themselues in order of battell, readie to abide a new field, and also to inuade, and newlie set on their enimies, with great force they assailed the earles of Marle and Fauconbridge, and the lords of Lourdie and of Thine, with six hundred men of armes, who had all that daie kept togither, but now slaine and beaten downe out of hand. Some write, that the king perceiuing his enimies in one part to assemble togither, as though they meant to giue a new battell for preseruation of the prisoners, sent to them an herald, commanding them either to depart out of his sight, or else to come forward at once, and giue battell: promising herewith, that if they did offer to fight againe, not onelie those prisoners which his people alreadie had taken; but also so manie of them as in this new conflict, which they thus attempted should fall into his hands, should die the death without redemption.

A fresh onset.

A right wise and valiant challenge of the King.

The Frenchmen fearing the sentence of so terrible a decree, without further delaie parted out of the field. And so about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the king when he saw no appearance of enemies, caused the retreit to be blowen; and gathering his armie togither, gaue thanks to almightie God for so happie a victorie, causing his prelates and chapleins to sing this psalme: *In exitu Israel de Aegypto*, and commanded euerie man to kneele downe on the ground at this verse: *Non nobis Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam.* Which doone, he caused *Te Deum*, with certeine anthems to be soong, giuing laud and praise to God, without boasting of his owne force or anie humane power.

Thanks giuen to God for the victorie.

A worthie example of a godlie prince.

Montioie king at armes and foure other French heralds came to the king to know the number of prisoners, and to desire buriall for the dead. He feasted the French officers of armes that daie, and granted them their request, which busilie sought through the field for such as were slaine.

Noblemen prisoners.

There were taken prisoners, Charles duke of Orleance nephue to the French king, John duke of Burbon, the lord Bouciqualt one of the marshals of France (he after died in England), with a number of other Lords, knights, and esquiers at the least fifteene hundred, besides the common people. There were slaine in all of the French part to the number of ten thousand men, whereof were princes and noble men bearing baners one hundred twentie and six; to these of knights, esquiers, and gentlemen, so manie as made vp the number of eight thousand and foure hundred (of the which fiue hundred were dubbed knights the night before the battell) so as of the meaner sort, not past sixteene hundred. Amongst those of the nobilitie that were slaine, these were the cheefest, Charles lord de la Breth high constable of France, Jaques of Chatilon lord of Dampier, admerall of France, the lord Rambures master of the crossebowes, sir Guischard Dolphin

The number slaine on the French part.

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great master of France, John Duke of Alanson, Anthonie duke of Brabant brother to the duke of Burgognie, Edward duke of Bar, the earle of Neuers an other brother to the duke of Burgognie, with the earles of Marle, Vaudemont, Beaumont, Grandprée, Roussie, Fauconberge, Fois and Lestrake, beside a great number of lords and barons of name.

Battle of Aginecourt.——Holinshed, vol. III., p. 555.

Of Englishmen, there died at this battell, Edward duke of Yorke, the earle of Suffolke, sir Richard Kikelie, and Dauie Gamme esquier, and of all other not aboue fiue and twentie persons, as some doo report; but other writers of greater credit affirme, that there were slaine aboue fiue or six hundred persons. The duke of Glocester the kings brother, was sore wounded about the hips, and borne downe to the ground, so that he fell backwards with his feet towards his enimies, whom the king bestrid, and like a brother valiantlie rescued from his enimies, and so sauing his life, caused him to be conueied out of the fight, into a place of more safetie.

Englishmen slaine.

1417.

Upon the three and twentith of Julie, the king tooke his ship at Portesmouth, accompanied with the dukes of Clarence and Glocester, the earls of Huntington, Marshall, Warwike, Deuonshire, Salisburie, Suffolke, and Summerset; the lords Rosse, Willoughbie, Fitz Hugh, Clinton, Scroope, Matreuers, Burchier, Ferreis of Grobie, and Ferreis of Chartleie, Fanhope, Graie of Codnore, sir Gilbert Umfreuille, sir Gilbert Talbot, and diuerse other; and so hauing wind and weather to his desire, the first daie of August he landed in Normandie, neere to a castell called Touque, where he consulted with his capteins, what waie was best for him to take concerning his high enterprise.

The King took ship at Portesmouth and landed in Normandy. —— Holinshed, vol. III., p. 558.

His armie conteined the number of sixteene thousand foure hundred soldiers and men of warre of his own pureiance, beside others. The duke of Clarence had in his retinue a hundred lances, and three hundred archers; and beside him, there were three earles, which had two hundred and fortie lances, and seauenteene hundred and twentie archers. The duke of Glocester foure hundred and seauentie lances, and foureteene hundred and ten archers. The earles of March, Marshall, Warwike, and Salisburie, each of them one hundred lances, and three hundred archers speece. The earle of Huntington fortie lances, and six score archers. The earle of Suffolke thirtie lances, and fourescore and ten archers. Beside these, there were thirteene lords, as Aburgauennie, Matreuers, Fitz Hugh, Clifford, Graie, Willoughbie, Talbot, Courtnie, Burchier, Roos, Louell, Ferrers of Chartleie and Harington, the which had in their retinue the number of fiue hundred and six lances, and fifteene hundred and fourescore archers. Also, there were in this armie threescore and seauenteene knights, which had vnder them nine hundred and fortie fiue lances, and two thousand eight hundred and fiftie two archers: so that in all, there were fiue and twentie thousand, fiue hundred, and eight and twentie fighting men: of which number euerie fourth man was a lance. Beside the soldiers and men of warre, there were a thousand masons, carpenters, and other labourers.

The number of the armie 16,400 of his own pureiance.

The Normans hearing of the kings arriual, were suddenlie striken with such feare, that they fled out of their houses, leauing the townes and villages, and with their wiues and children, bag and baggage, got them into the walled townes, preparing there to defend themselues, and with all speed sent to the French king, requiring him to prouide for the defense and preseruation of his louing subjects.

The Normans flee to the walled townes.

The king [of England] set forward toward the towne of Caen in most warlike order, wasting the countrie on euerie side as he passed. Which towne standeth in a plaine fertile countrie, no stronger walled, than deepe ditched, and as then well vittelled and replenished with people: for the citizens fearing the kings comming, had there prouided all things

Caen besieged.—Holinshed vol. III., p. 559.

necessarie and defensible. But his majestie doubting least the Frenchmen would haue burned the suburbs and buildings without the walles, sent the Duke of Clarence with 1,000 men before him, to preuent that mischeefe. The duke comming thither, found the suburbs alreadie set on fire, but vsed such diligence to quench the same, that the most part was saued. He also wan the abbeie church, which the Frenchmen were in hand to haue ouerthrowne, by vndermining the pillers; but the duke obteining the place, filled up the mines, and so preserued the church.

Then came the king before the towne, who caused forthwith to be cast a deepe trench, with an high mount, to keepe them within from issuing foorth, and that doone, began fiercelie to assault the towne; but they within stood manfullie to their defense, so that there was sore and cruell fight betwixt them and their enimies. But when king Henrie perceiued that he lost more than he wan by his dailie assaults, he left off anie more to assault it, and determined to ouerthrow the wals, with vndermining. Wherefore with all diligence, the pioners cast trenches, made mines, and brought timber: so that within a few daies, the wals stood onelie upon posts, readie to fall, when fire should be put to them. The king meaning now to giue a generall assault, caused all the capteins to assemble before him in councell, vnto whome he declared his purpose, commanding them not before the next daie to vtter it; till by sound of trumpet they should haue warning to set forward towards the wals. He also prescribed vnto them, what order he would haue them to keepe, in giuing the assault, and that was this; that euerie capteine deuiding his band into three seuerall portions, they might be readie one to succeed in an others place, as those which fought should happilie be driuen backe and repelled.

The order of the assault.

In the morning next following, being the 4th of September, somewhat before the breake of daie, he caused his people to approch the wals, and to shew countenance, as though they would giue a generall assault; and whilest they were busied in assailing and defending on both sides, the Englishmen pearsed and brake through the wals by diuerse holes and ouertures made by the pioners, vnder the foundation: yet the king vpon diuerse respects, offered them within pardon of life, if they would yield themselues and the towne to his mercie; but they refusing that to doo, the assault was newlie begun, and after sore fight continued for the space of an houre, the Englishmen preuailed, and slue so manie as they found with weapon in hand, readie to resist them.

The duke of Clarence was the first that entred with his people, and hauing got the one part of the towne, assailed them that kept the bridge, and by force beating them backe, passed the same, and so came to the wals on the other side of the towne, where the fight was sharpe and fierce; but the duke with his people setting on the Frenchmen behind, as they stood at defense on the wals, easilie vanquished them, so that the Englishmen entred at their pleasure. Thus when the king was possessed of the towne, he incontinentlie commanded all armours and weapons of the vanquished, to be brought into one place, which was immediatelie doone.

Caen taken by the Englishmen.

Then the miserable people came before the king's presence, and kneeling on their knees, held vp their hands, and cried; Mercie, mercie: to whom the king gaue certeine comfortable words, and bad them stand vp. All night he caused his armie to keepe themselues in order of battell within the towne, and next morning called all the magistrats and gouernors of the towne to the senat house, where some for their wilfull stubbornesse were adjudged to die, other were sore fined and ransomed. Then he calling togither his souldiers and men of warre, not onlie gaue them great praises, but also distributed to euerie man, according to his desert, the spoile gotten in the towne, cheeflie bicause

Division of the spoile.

HENRY V.
1417.

at the assault they had shewed good proofe of their manhood and valiant courages.

Willoughby was one of the chief Commanders at the siege of Caen. In consideration whereof, and of his great Services in those Wars, he obtained a Grant of one hundred pounds per annum, to be yearly received out of the Customs of Wools, Wool-Fells, and Pelts, in the Port of Boston.

Lord Willoughby rewarded by a grant.—Dugdale, p. 85.

1421.

The king made great purueiance for the coronation of his queene and spouse, the faire ladie Katharine: which was doone the daie of S. Matthew, being the twentie fourth of Februarie, with all such ceremonies and princelie solemnitie as appertcined.

The coronation of Queene Katharine. —— Holinshed, vol. III., pp. 578, 579.

After the great solemnization at the foresaid coronation in the church of Saint Peters at Westminster, the queene was conueied into the great Hall of Westminster, and there set to dinner. Upon whose right hand sat at the end of the table the archbishop of Canturburie, and Henrie cardinall of Winchester. Upon the left hand of the queene sat the king of Scots in his estate, who was serued with couered messe, as were the forenamed bishops: but yet after them. Upon the same hand and side, neere the boords end, sat the duchesse of Yorke and the countesse of Huntington. The earle of March, holding a sceptre in his hand, kneeled upon the right side: the earle marshall in like manner on the left of the queene. The countesse of Kent sat vnder the table at the right foot and the countesse marshall at the left. The duke of Glocester sir Humfrie was that daie ouerseer, and stood before the queene bareheaded. Sir Richard Neuill was that daie carver to the queene, the earles brother of Suffolke cupbearer, sir John Steward sewar, the lord Clifford pantler in the earl of Warwikes steed, the lord Willoughbie buttler in steed of the erle of Arundell, the lord Graie Ruthin or Riffin naperer, the lord Audleie almoner in steed of the earle of Cambridge, the earle of Worcester was that daie earle marshall in the earles marhalls absence; who rode about the hall vpon a great courser with a multitude of tipped staues about him, to make and keepe roome in the said hall. Of the which hall the barons of the cinque ports began the table vpon the right hand, toward saint Stephans Chappell; and beneath them at the table sat the vowchers of the chancerie. Upon the left hand next to the cupboord sat the maior and his brethren the aldermen of London. The bishops began the table against the barons of the cinque ports; and the ladies against the maior. Of which two tables for the bishops, began the bishop of London and the bishop of Durham; and for the ladies, the countesse of Stafford and the countesse of March.

A roiall banket.

The feast was all of fish, for the ordering of the seruice whereof were diuerse lords appointed head officers, as steward, controller, surueior, and other honourable officers. For the which were appointed the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, the lord Fitz Hugh, the lord Furneuall, the lord Graie of Wilton, the lord Ferres of Grobie, the lord Poinings, the lord Harrington, the lord Dareie, the lord Dacres, and the lord de la Ware. These with others ordered the seruice of the feast as followeth; and thus for the first course. Brawne and mustard, eeles in burneur, frument with balten, pike in herbarge, lamprie powdered, trowt, codling, plaice fried, martine fried, crabs, leech-lumbard flourished, tartes; and a denise called a pellican, sitting on hir nest with hir birds, and an image of saint Katharine holding a booke, and disputing with doctors, holding this poesie in her right hand, written in faire and legible letters, *Madame le Royne;* and the pellican answering

The first course.

C'e est la signe et du roy, pour tenir joy,
Et a tout sa gent, elle mette sa entent.

The second course was: gellie coloured with columbine flowers, white potage or creame of almonds, breame of the sea, coonger, soles, cheuen, barbill and roch, fresh salmon,

The second course.

HENRY V. 1421.

halibut, gurnard, rochet broiled, smelts fried, creuis or lobster; leech damaske, with the kings poesie flourished therevpon, *une sans plus;* lamprie fresh baked, flampeine flourished with a scutchion roiall, and therein three crownes of gold, planted with flourdeluces and floure of camomill, wrought of confections; with a deuise of a panther, and an image of St. Katharine with a wheele in one hand, and a scroll with a poesie in the other, to wit,

La royne mu file, in cesta ile,
Per bon resoun, aues reneun.

The third course.

The third course was, dates in compost, creame motle, carpe deore, turbut, tench, pearch with goion, fresh sturgion with welkes, porperous rosted, mennes fried, creuisse de eau doure, pranis, eeles rosted with lamprie, a leech called the white leech flourished with hawthorne leaues and red hawes; a marchpane garnished with diuerse figures of angels, among which was set an image of Saint Katharine, holding this posie,

Il est escrit, pur voir et rit,
Per marriage pure, cest guerre ne dure.

And lastlie a deuise of a tiger looking in a mirror, and a man sitting on horsebacke all armed, holding in his armes a tigers whelpe with this poesie: *Per force sans resoun ie ay prise ceste best:* and with his owne hand making a countenance of throwing of mirrors at the great tiger, which held this poesie: *Gile che mirrour ma feste distour.* Thus with all honour was finished the solemne coronation.

HENRY VI. 1422.

Lord Willoughby serves in the wars of France.—Hugdale, p. 85.

Willoughby, in 1 Henry 6, was again reteined by Indenture to serve in the Wars of France, with three Knights, thirty-six Men at Arms, and 240 Archers: at which time he was associated with Thomas de Poynings, to conduct 400 Men at Arms, and 1,200 Archers, unto John Duke of Bedford (the King's Uncle) then Regent there.

1424. The Lord Regent of France, the Duke of Bedford, besieges Yurie in Normandy. Holinshed, vol. III., p. 588.

The Lord regent raised an armie of Englishmen and Normans, to the number of 1800 men of armes, and 8,000 archers and other. He had in his companie the earles of Salisburie and Suffolke, the lords Scales, Willoughbie, and Poinings, Sir Reginald Graie, Sir John Fastolfe, Sir John Saluaine, Sir Lancelot Lisle, Sir Philip Hall, Sir John Pashleie, Sir John Greie, Sir Thomas Blunt, Sir Robert Harling, Sir William Oldhall, and manie other, both knights and esquiers, with whom he came before the towne of Yurie, which was well defended, till they within perceiued themselves in danger, by reason of a mine which the Englishmen had made, wherevpon they yeelded the towne. But the capteins of the castell would not presentlie render the place, howbeit they promised to deliuer it, if the same were not rescued at a day assigned by the Dolphin or his power. Hostages were deliuered into the possession of the lord Regent, by whose licence an herald was sent to the Dolphin, to aduertise him of the time determined; who vnderstanding the distresse of his freends, sent John duke of Alanson, as his lieutenant generall, the erle Douglas, and manie other knights and esquiers, to the number of 15,000 Frenchmen and Britons, besides 5,000 Scots, whom the earle Dowglas had latelie transported out of Scotland. This roiall armie approched within 2 miles of Yurie. But when the duke of Alanson vnderstood by such as he sent to view the conduict of the Englishmen, that he could not get anie aduantage by assailing them (although the Dolphin had giuen him streict commandement to fight with the regent) he retired backe with his whole armie to the towne of Vernueil in Perch, that belonged to the king of England; sending word to the garrison, that he had discomfited the English armie, and that the regent with a small number with him by swiftnesse of horsse had saued himselfe. The inhabitants of Vernueil, giuing too light credit herevnto receiued the duke of Alanson with all his armie into the towne. In the meane time came the daie of the rescues of Yurie, which for want thereof

Vernueil gotten from the Englishmen by crediting a lie.

was deliuered to the duke of Bedford by the capteine called Gerard de la Pallier, who presenting vnto the duke of Bedford the keies of the castell, shewed him a letter also signed and sealed with the hands and seales of 18 great lords, who the daie before promised by the tenour of the same letter to giue the duke battell, and to raise the siege. "Well" (said the duke) "if their hearts would haue serued, their puissance was sufficient once to haue proffered, or to haue performed this faithfull promise: but since they disdaine to seeke me, God and saint George willing, I shall not desist to follow the tract of their horsses till one part of vs be by battell ouerthrowne." And herewith he sent foorth the Earle of Suffolke with 600 horssemen, to espie the dooings of the Frenchmen, and where they were lodged. The Earle heard the Frenchmen had gotten Verneueill, and remained there still. These newes he sent by post vnto the duke of Bedford, the which incontinentlie vpon that aduertisement set forward in great haste towards his enimies. The Frenchmen hearing of his comming, set their people in arraie, and made all one maine battell without fore ward or rere ward; and appointed 400 horssemen, Lombards and others to breake the arraie of the Englishmen, either behind or at the sides, of the which was capteine Sir Stephan de Vinoiles, called the Hire. The duke of Bedford likewise made one entier battell, and suffered no man to be on horssebacke, and set the archers (euerie one hauing a sharpe stake) both on the front of the battell, and also on the sides, like wings. And behind were all their horsses tied togither, either by the reins or by the tailes, with the carts and cariages, to the defense whereof were 2,000 archers appointed.

Battle of Vernoile

The duke of Alanson, on the one side, exhorted his people to plaie the men. On the other side, the duke of Bedford, to incourage his men, willed them to remember how oft they had subdued their aduersaries in battell. But scarse had he ended his exhortation, when the Englishmen rushed foorth, and boldlie set on their enimies, crieing, "Saint George, a Bedford, a Bedford;" and the Frenchmen likewise cried "Montjoy saint Denis." Then began the battell right fierce on both sides, continuing for the space of 3 houres in doubtfull balance, fortune shewing herself so equall, that no eie could judge to whether part she was more fauourable. But at length, after that those 400 horssemen, which were appointed, as yee haue hard, to breake the arraie of the Englishmen, had passed thorough on the one side vnto the place where the cariages and horsses stood, and could not passe further, by reason of the fierce shot of the English bowes, they falling to the spoile made a hand, and therewith departed. Those archers then that were appointed to keepe the cariages, being now at libertie, came forward, and so fiercelie shot at the thickest prease of their enimies fighting on foot, that in the end they were not able longer to indure, but were borne downe by fine force, and so vanquished.

This battell was fought the 28th of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1424, in the which battell were slaine of the Frenchmen the earles of Aumarle, Ventadour, Forest, Marie, the lords Grauile, Gaules, Fountaines, and Ambois, beside 300 knights. Of Scots also were slaine, Archembald earle Dowglas, James Dowglas sonne to the earle of Wicton, John earle of Boughen, newlie made constable of France, sir John Sterling, sir James Graie, sir Alexander Linsaie, sir Robert Steward, sir Robert Swinton, and 2,700 Scots of name. In this battell were slaine by report of Montjoy king at armes in France, and the English heralds there present, of Frenchmen and Scots 9,700, and of Englishmen 2,100 but no man of name, saiing 5 yoong esquires. And taken prisoners, *John duke of Alanson, sir John Turnebull a Scot, and 200 gentlemen, beside common soldiers. The Frenchmen within Vernoill, seeing the Dolphins armie thus ouerthrowne, deliuered the towne to the regent, their liues saued.

* Lord Willoughby aided in capturing the Duc d' Alençon.—Architectural Societies Reports, vol. xiii., p. 163.

HENRY VI.
1425.

The Earl of Salisbury besieges the castle de la Fert Barnard — Holinshed, vol III., p. 559.

The earle of Salisburie besieged the castell de la Fert Barnard; during which siege a sale was made of the towne of Alauson, being in the Englishmens possession, by a Gascoigne that was one of the garrison there. But this sale being opened to the erle of Salisburie by the same Gascoigne at the daie appointed, the lord Willoughbie and sir John Fastolfe, with 2,000 men were sent to incounter with the bniers of that towne; so that when Charles de Villiers cheefe merchant of this ware, came earlie in a morning with 200 horsemen, and 300 footmen, and approached the towne, abiding for the Gascoigne, he was aware the Englishmen had compassed him and his companie round about, and setting vpon the Frenchmen, slue and tooke all the whole number of them, saue Peter Danthenazie and 25 other, which by the swiftnesse of their horsses saued themselues. After this conflict, the lord Willoughbie returned to the earle of Salisburie, lieng still at siege before the towne de la Fert Barnard, which shortlie after was rendered.

Lord Willoughby at the Siege of Mouns.—Dugdale, p. 85.

Soon after this, likewise he was with the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, at the Siege of Mouns in Champaigne, which was then won, with other Towns and Castles to the number of thirty six, and in 7 Henry 6. accompanied the great Cardinal Beaufort, in his journey to Bohemia.

1429.
Goes to Bohemia.

1431.
Saint Saverine besieged.—Holinshed, vol III., p. 607.

Robert Lord Willoughbie, and Matthew Gough, a valiant Welshman, with fifteen hundred Englishmen, laid siege to a towne in Anjou called saint Seuerine. Whereof Charles the French King being aduertised, sent with all speed the lord Ambrose de Lore, with manie noble men to the succours of them within the towne, whereof the same lord Ambrose was capteine; and therefore made the more hast to releeue his deputie, and the other being strictlie beseiged, but yet staied at the towne of Beaumont, till his whole power might come to him.

The Englishmen aduertised of this intent of the capteine, came vpon him in the night, and found the Frenchmens watch so out of order, that a thousand men were entered into the campe before they were espied: by reason whereof the Englishmen found small resistance. But when the daie began to appeare, and that the sunne had set footh his bright beames abroad, that all things might be seene, the Englishmen giuen wholie to spoile, followed not their enimies in chase, but being contented with their preie and gaine, began to retreit toward the siege againe, which lord Willoughbie still mainteined with part of the armie

But see the chance. The Frenchmen which were comming after, hearing by the noise of the people that some fraie was at hand, put spurres to their horsses, and set on the English pestered with bag and baggage, of the spoile and preie which they had gotten in the French campe. The other of the Frenchmen which before had fled, returned againe, and aided their fellowes; so that the Englishmen being taken out of order, were compelled to flee, of whom, Matthew Gough and diuerse other were taken prisoners. And yet of the other part manie were slaine, and a great number taken: amongst whom was the lord de Lore, who (for all that the Frenchmen could doo) was kept, and not deliuered. The lord Willoughbie hearing of this mishap, raised his siege, and departed verie sore displeased in his mind, but could not remedie it.

1432.
The Duke of Bedford gathered an armie of 6000 men.—Holinshed, vol. III., p. 608.

The Duke of Bedford gathered an armie of six thousand men, whereof were capteins; Robert lord Willoughbie, Sir Andrew Ogard chamberlaine to the duke, sir John Montgomerie bailiffe of Caux, sir Philip Hall bailiffe of Vernoill, sir Richard Ratcliffe deputie of Calis, sir Rafe Neuill, sir Richard Harington bailiffe of Eureux, sir Thomas Griffin of Ireland, Dauid Hall, and many others.

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1432.

The duke of Bedford furnished with this armie and companie of worthie capteins came to the siege before Laignie, where he made a bridge of boats, and brought his ordinance so neere the towne, that to all people it seemed not long able to resist. But the earle of Dunois, with diuerse hardie capteins, as valiantlie defended as the Englishmen assaulted. At length the French king, perceiuing this towne to be the three cornered keie betweene the territories Burgognion, English and French, and the losse thereof should turne him to irreuocable damage, sent the lord of Rieux, Poiton, the Hire, the lord Gawcourt, and six thousand men, with great plentie of vittels, to the intent either to raise the siege, or else to vittell the towne.

Laignis besieged.

The Frenchmen made a brag, as though they would haue assailed the Englishmen in their campe, but when they perceiued the courage of the lord regent, and the desire he had to fight, they framed themselues so in order of battell, as though they could doo all things, and yet in effect did nothing: but that whilest part of them mainteined a skirmish, a sort of rude and rusticall persons, were appointed to conueie into the towne thirtie oxen and other small vittels. But this sweet gaine was decrelie paied for, if the losse with the gaine be pondered in equall balance: for hauing regard to their thirty leane oxen, in the skirmish were slaine the lord Saintreiles, also capteine John brother to the lord Gawcourt, and fiftie other noble and valiant personages.

The Frenchmen in the beginning of August, remooued their armie vnto Fort vnder Yer, where, by a bridge of tuns they passed into the Ile of France. The duke of Bedford raised his siege, and returned to Paris.

1433.

The lord regent sent the earle of Saint Paule, and Robert lord Willoughbie, with a competent number of men to besiege the towne of S. Valerie, which the Frenchmen a little before had taken. This siege continued the space of three weeks; at the end whereof the Frenchmen within yeelded the towne, and departed with their horsse and harnesse onelie to them saued.

S. Valerie besieged.—Holinshed, vol. III., p. 608.

The earle put there in garrison fresh and valiant souldiers, and appointed capteine there, sir John Aubemond. The earle of Saint Paule and the lord Willoughbie, returning backe to the regent, were joifullie receiued.

The Frenchmen entering into high Burgognie, burnt, tooke, and destroied diuerse townes; wherevpon the Burgognians assembled a great armie both to reuenge their quarrels, and to recouer their townes taken from them. To whome as his freends, the duke of Bedford sent the lord Willoughbie, and sir Thomas Kiriell, with a conuenient number of souldiers, which entering into the lands of Laonnois, were incountered with a great power of their enimies. But after long fight, the Frenchmen were ouerthrowne, and of them left dead in the field, an hundred and sixtie horssemen, beside prisoners, which after vpon vrgent cause were all killed.

Lord Willoughbie and Sir Thomas Kiriell sent by the Duke of Bedford to Burgognie, return with great victorie.

Lord Willoughbie and sir Thomas Kiriell, returning with great victorie out of Burgognie, passing by the towne of Leuiers, latelie reduced to the English obeisance, furnished it both with men and munition.

1434.

A great number of the common and rusticall people in Normandie, dwelling by the sea coast, either prouoked by the French king, or desirous of alteration and change, made an insurrection, put on harnesse, and by force expelled certeine English garrisons out of their holds, publishing and proclaming openlie, that their onelie purpose and intent was to expell and banish the whole English nation out of their countries and coasts.

Insurrection in Normandie.—Holinshed, vol. III., p. 609.

These rebels thus frantikelie assembled, with all speed marched toward Caen. But

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1434.

the dukes of Yorke and Summerset, then lieng in Normandie, hauing perfect knowledge hereof, immediatlie sent foorth the earle of Arundell, and the lord Willoughbie with six thousand archers, and thirteene hundred light horssemen, to staie and keepe them from making anie further progresse. The earle of Arundell appointed the lord Willoughbie, with two thousand archers, and certeine horssemen, to go afore him, and lie in a stale within some couert place. Which doone, the earle followed; and so keeping in the multitude at the backe, drone them before him as deare into a buckestale: and when the miserable wretches came neere to the stale, the earle made a token, whereat a gun shot off for a signe. Therewith the lord Willoughbie set on them before, and the earle behind, shooting so fiercelie, that the poore caitiues, wounded and galled with the shot of arrowes, threw awaie their harnesse, and cried out instantlie for mercie.

The Earle of Arundell moued with compassion, caused his souldiers to staie from further slaughter, and apprehending those that were knowen to be stirrers and leaders of the rest, let the other returne home without further damage: but yet, yet the souldiers could be brought backe vnder their standards, there were aboue a thousand of the rebels slaine. And this commotion thus appeased, vpon inquirie of the principall offendors, such as were found guiltie were put to terrible executions, as they had well deserued.

The Lord Willoughby and Mathagon lay siege to St. Severin, where the English are at first victorious, but are afterwards defeated by the French. — Monstrelet's Chronicles, vol. III., chap. lxiv.

In this same year of 1434, the Lord Willoughby, accompanied by Mathagon, and some other captains, and from eight hundred to a thousand combatants, laid siege to a very strong place in the country of Maine called St. Severin, about two leagues distant from Alençon, which was held by the French. The governor was a gallant knight, named Sir Anthony de Loreuil, who, on the arrival of the enemy, made a vigorous defence: nevertheless, the English surrounded the place on all sides, and remained there about six weeks.

While this was going forward, the lord de Bueil, Sir William Blesset, the Lord de la Varenne, and other French captains, assembled about fourteen hundred fighting men, with the intent to force the enemy to raise their siege. They remained for some days at Beaumont le Vicomte, where part of them were quartered, and the remainder at Vivien, four leagues distant from St. Severin. While at Beaumont, they called a council of all the chief captains, to consider how they should act; when, after much noise and debating, they considered themselves not strong enough to fight the English in their present situation, and determined to attempt withdrawing the besieged the back way out of the town. The captains now returned to their different quarters, and established good guards around them during the night, both of horse and foot. The Lord de Bueil was, on this expedition, lieutenant for the lord Charles d'Anjou, and had the charge of his banner.

The same night a detachment of the English, having had intelligence of the advance of the French, took the field, and marched in silence until they came near to the town of Vivien, whither they sent scouts to reconnoitre the state of the French, who, having twice entered Vivien, brought word they were in tolerable good order. The English then made an attack on their quarters about day-break, and easily defeated them without much loss. Many were taken and killed: among the last was a valiant man from Amiens, but originally from Auvergne, called John de Belley. When the business was over, the English took the field with their prisoners; but the lords de Bueil and de la Varenne, who were in Beaumont, hearing of this discomfiture from the runaways, made instant preparations to pursue the English, who no sooner saw them than they rejoiced, thinking to defeat them as they had done the others,—and each party met gallantly.

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1434.

Many valorous acts were done on both sides; but, in the end, the English lost the day, partly from the prisoners whom they had taken at Vivien joining the French. A valiant knight, named Arthur, was slain, and Mathagon made prisoner. Four hundred, or more of the English were killed or taken, and the French left masters of the field, very joyful for their victory. When the English who had remained at the siege of St. Severin heard of the ill success of their companions, they raised the siege, and retreated to the garrisons whence they had come.

1435.
St. Denise besieged.—Hall's Chronicle, ed. 1809, p. 175.

The lorde Talbot, the lorde Willoughby, the lorde Scales, with the lorde Lisle Adame, and fiue thousande men, besieged the toune of St. Denise, with a strong bande. The Erle of Dumoys hearing therof, accompanied with the lorde Lohac, and the lorde Bueill, and a great company of horsemen, haisted thitherward, to rayse the siege, and in the meane waie, they encountered with Sir Thomas Kiriell, and Matthew Gouthe, ridyng also toward S. Denise, betweno whom, was a great conflict, and many slain on bothe parties: but sodainly came to the aide of the Frenchmen, the garrison of Pont Melance, which caused the Englishmen to returne, without any great arme or damage, sayyng that Matthew Gouth, by foundering of his horsse, was taken and caried to Pount Melance. Duryng whiche fight, the toune of Sainct Denise, was rendered to the lorde Talbot, and the other lordes, whiche caused all the walles to be raised, and abated doune to the ground, sauyng the walles of the Abbay, and a toure called Venyn. After this toune gotten, the lorde Willoughby left Sir John Ruppelley at Pounthoyse, and departed to gouerne Paris, whiche then began to smoke, and sone after, brast out in flame, (as you shall shortly, apparauntly perceiue). After whose departure, the inhabitaines of Pounthoyse rebelled, and droue out the Englishmen by very force, and rendered themselfes subjectes to king Charles. This toune was small, but the losse was great, for it was the very conuenient kaye, betwene Paris and Normandy, so that now the gate betweene them bothe, was set open and the passage at large.

1436.
Siege of Paris.—Holinshed, vol. III., p. 612.

But heere is one cheefe point to be noted, that either the disdeine amongest the cheefe peeres of the realme of England, or the negligence of the kings councell (which did not foresee dangers to come) was the losse of the whole dominion of France, betweene the riuers of Sone and Marne, and in especiall of the noble citie of Paris. For where before, there were sent ouer thousands for the defense of the holds and fortresses, now were sent hundreds, yea and scores, some rascals, and some not able to draw a bowe, or carrie a bill: for the lord Willoughbie, and the bishop of Terwine, which had the gouernance of the great citie of Paris, had in their companie not two thousand Englishmen.

Which weakenesse King Charles well perceiued, and therefore by authoritie appointed the constable, Arthur of Britaine, the earl of Dunois, the lords de la Roch and Lisle Adam, with other valiant capteins and men of warre, as well Burgognions as French, to go before Paris, trusting by fauour of certeine citizens, with whome he had intelligence, shortlie to be the lord of the citie, without great losse or battell. So these capteins came before the citie of Paris. But perceiuing that all things succeeded not according to their expectation, they returned to Mont Martyr, and the next daie suddenlie set on the towne of Saint Denis, and constreined the Englishmen that kept it, to flee into the abbeie, and into the tower Venin. In this conflict two hundred Englishmen were slaine, the residue vpon reasonable composition rendered vp the place, and departed to Paris.

Thomas lord Beaumont, who of late was come to Paris with eight hundred men, issued foorth with six hundred souldiers, intending to view the dooings and number of the French

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1436.

armie; but suddenlie compassed about, within a small space was discomfited and taken, with him fourescore prisoners, beside two hundred slaine in the field, the remnant chased to the verie gates of the citie. The Parisiens, and especiallie the maister of the halles, and some of the vniuersitie, and Michaell Lallier, and manie notable burgesses of the citie (who euer with an English countenance couered a French hart) perceiuing the weaknesse of the Englishmen, and force of the French: signified to the French capteins their toward minds willing them with all diligence to come and receiue so rich a preie without anie difficultie readie to be giuen and deliuered into their hands.

The treason of the Parisiens.

The constable delaieng no time, came with his power, lodged by the charter house: and the lord Lisle Adam, approching to the walles, shewed to the citizens a charter, sealed with the great seale of King Charles, by the which he had pardoned them their offenses, and granted to them all their old liberties, and ancient priuileges, so that they would hereafter be to him true and obedient: which thing to them declared, they ran about the towne crieng; "S. Denis, liue King Charles." The Englishmen perceiuing this, determined to keepe the gate S. Denis, but they were deceiued: for the cheines were drawne in euerie street, and women and children cast downe stones and scalding water on the Englishmens heads, and the citizens in armour fought with them and chased them from street to street, and from lane to lane, and slue and hurt diuerse and manie of them.

Paris yeelded to the French King.

The bishop of Terwine, chancellor there for King Henrie, the lord Willoughbie, and sir Simon Morulier tooke great paine to appease the people: but when they saw that all auailed not, they withdrew into the bastile of saint Anthonie, which fortresse they had well vittelled, and furnished with men and munitions. Whilest this rumor was in the towne, the earle of Dunois and others scaled the walles, and some passed the riuer by botes, and opened the gate of saint James, by the which the constable with his banner displaied, entered, at whose entrie the Parisiens made great joy. The bishop and the lord Willoughbie, with their small companie, defended their fortresse ten daies, looking for aid: but when they saw that no comfort appeared, they yeelded their fortresse, so that they and theirs, with certeine baggage might peaceablie returne to Rone. Thus was the citie of Paris brought into the possession of Charles the French king, after it had been 15 years in the hands of the English.

Collins' Peerage, vol. v., p. 74.

1441.

Lord Willoughby gave battle to the French.—Dugdale, p. 85.

In 20 Henry 6, Willoughby gave battle to the French near Amiens; and being victorious, returned with great booty to Roan. In the which year he was made Master of the Kings Hart-Hounds.

Lord Willoughby sent to destroy the country of Amiens.—Holinshed, vol. III., p. 619.

In the beginning of this twentith yeare, Richard duke of Yorke, regent of France and gouernour of Normandie, determined to inuade the territories of his enimies both by sundrie armies, and in seuerall places, and thereupon without delaie of time he sent the lord of Willoughbie with a great crue of soldiers, to destroie the countrie of Amiens, and John lord Talbot was appointed to besiege the towne of Diepe: and the regent himself, accompanied with Edmund duke of Summerset, set forward into the duchie of Anjou. The lord Willoughbie, according to his commission, entred into the countrie of his enimies in such wise vpon the sudden, that a great number of people were taken yer they could withdraw into anie place of safegard.

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1441.

The Frenchmen in the garrisons adjoining, astonied with the clamour and crie of the poore people, issued out in good order, and manfullie fought with the Englishmen. But in the end, the Frenchmen seeing their fellowes in the forefront slaine downe, and kild without mercie, turned their backes and fled. The Englishmen followed, and slue manie in the chase, and such as escaped the sword, were robbed by the earle of Saint Paule, who was comming to aid the Englishmen.

Erle of Saint Paule freed to the English.

In this conflict were slaine aboue six hundred men of armes, and a great number taken. The dukes of Yorke and Summerset likewise entered into Anjou and Maine, and there destroied townes, and spoiled the people, and with great preies and prisoners repaired againe into Normandie, whither also the lord Willoughbie withdrew, after his valiant enterprise atchiued, with rich spoiles and good prisoners.

For all these eminent services, his lordship was created Lord Willoughby of Monblay and Beaumesguil, and Earl of Vendosme and Beaumont, and installed a knight of the most noble order of the Garter.

Honors acquired by Lord Willoughby. —— Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1370.

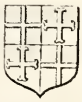
His lordship dying in the 30th of Henry VI., the honors acquired by himself expired.

1452.
Lord Willoughby's death.

HENRY VI.
1462.

Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1370.

His lordship married Elizabeth, youngest daughter of John Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, by whom he had an only daughter and heiress Joan.



ARMS OF LORD WILLOUGHBY.
(From Ashmole's Order of the Garter.)

Joan, Baroness Willoughby, and Richard Welles, VII. Lord Welles and VII. Lord Willoughby.

JOAN WILLOUGHBY married Sir Richard Welles, Knt., who bore in her right the title of Lord Willoughby de Eresby, and was summoned to parliament as 7th Baron, in 1455.

Richard Welles summoned to parliament as Lord Willoughby.—Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1370.

His Lordship was son of Leo, 6th Baron Welles, who fell in one of the conflicts between the houses of York and Lancaster, and was attainted in 1461. Joan, Lady Willoughby, dyed the same year, as it appeareth by an office taken after her death; and this Richard Welles, Knight, continued Lord Willoughby afterwards, although his father was attainted, and his wife dead. Lord Willoughby obtained a full restoration, however, in blood and honours in 1468.

EDWARD IV.
1461.

Death and attainture of his Father, Leo, VI. Lord Welles.—Ibid.

Death of Joan, Baroness Willoughby.—"Collins on Baronies," p. 31.

1468.

Reversion of attainture.—Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1370.

The Earl of Warwick commissioned Sir Robert Wells, son of the Lord Wells, to levy troops in Lincolnshire, which he performed with great ease, by reason of his family's interest in those parts. Edward having notice of it, sent an express order to the Lord Wells, to come immediately to Court. His design was to oblige him to use his authority, to persuade his son to forsake the rebels. The Lord Wells being come to London, and hearing how much the King was incensed against his son, in a dread of feeling himself the effects of his resentment, took sanctuary in Westminster Abbey. But the King sending him a safe-conduct, he immediately came to Court. He even writ to his son, enjoining him to quit the Earl of Warwick's party, and dismiss his troops; but the son refused to obey. Then Edward inraged at not being able to succeed, ordered the Lord Wells to be beheaded.

1470.

Lord Welles's son raises Troops for Warwick.—Rapin's "History of England," ed. 1732, vol. I., p. 807.

Lord Welles is beheaded by the King's order.

EDWARD IV.
1470.

Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1370.

He was succeeded by his only son, Robert.

ARMS OF LORD WELLES.
(From Nicholas's "Siege of Carlaverock," p. [illegible] 07.)

Robert Welles, VIII. Lord Welles and VIII. Lord Willoughby.

EDWARD IV.
1470.

ROBERT, 8th Lord Welles and 8th Lord Willoughby; coming into immediate conflict with the Yorkists, under King Edward IV., at Stamford, and suffering a signal defeat, was taken prisoner and beheaded.

Lord Welles defeated and beheaded. — Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1379

The Baronies then devolved upon the last Lord's only sister and heiress, Joane.

ARMS OF LORD WELLES.
(From Nicholas's "Siege of Carlaverock," pp. 32 and 207.)

Joane, Baroness Welles and Willoughby, and Richard Hastings, IX. Lord Welles and IX. Lord Willoughby.

1482.
Richard Hastings summoned to parliament.—Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1370.

Called Lord Welles and Willoughby.—Collins on Baronies, p. 4.

1503
Death of Lord Welles.

1505.
Death of Baroness Welles.—Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1370.

JOANE WELLES married Richard Hastings, and he was summoned to parliament as Baron Welles.

Sir Richard Hastings, knt., in the right of Johan, his wife, was both Lord Welles and Willoughby, reputed, called, and written, but dying without issue, in 1503, and his lady in three years afterwards, the ancient Barony of Willoughby reverted to her ladyship's kinsman (refer to Sir Thomas Willoughby, younger son of William, 5th Baron), William Willoughby.

ARMS OF WILLIAM HASTINGS, I. LORD HASTINGS, K.G., BROTHER OF LORD WELLES.

(From Ashmole's "Order of the Garter.")

William Willoughby, X. Lord Willoughby.

HENRY VIII.
1509.

LORD WILLOUGHBY was made one of the knights of the Bath, at the coronation of King Henry VIII.

Lord Willoughby made a Knight of the Bath.—Collins's Peerage, vol. V., p. 73.

The King of Aragon also, hauing at that time warre with the French King, wrote to his sonne in law King Henrie, that if he would send ouer an armie into Biskaie, and so to innade France on that side, for the recouerie first of his duchie of Guien; he would aid them with ordinance, horssemen, beasts, cariages, with other necessaries apperteining to the same. The king and his councell putting their affiance in this promise of king Ferdinando, prepared a noble armie all of footmen, and small artillerie, appointing the noble lord Thomas Greie marquesse Dorset to be chéefe conductor of the same. The king dailie studieng to set foorth his warre which he had begun against the French king, caused Sir Edward Howard his admerall with diligence to make readie diuerse goodlie tall ships, as the Soueraigne and others, to the number of eighteene, beside other smaller vessels.

1512.

The French King hath his hands full of troubles.—Holinshed, vol. III., p. 812., p. 568.

HENRY VIII.
1512.

Noblemen appointed for the viage to Biskaie.—Holinshed, vol. III., pp. 812, 814.

Therewith haning in his companie sir Weston Browne, Griffith Downe, Edward Cobham, Thomas Windham, Thomas Lucie, William Pirton, Henrie Shirbourne, Stephan Bull, George Witwange, John Hopton, William Gunston, Thomas Draper, Edmund Cooke, John Burdet, and diuerse others, he tooke the sea, and scowring the same, about the middest of Maie he came before Portesmouth. About the verie selfe time the lord marquesse Dorset, and other noblemen appointed for the iournie of Biskaie, as the lord Howard sonne and heire to the earle of Surrie, the lord Brooke, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Ferrers; the lord John, the lord Anthonie, and the lord Leonard Greies, all three brethren to the marquesse; sir Griffith ap Rice, sir Morris Berkeleie, sir William Sands, the baron of Burford, sir Richard Cornewall brother to the said baron, William Husseie, John Melton, William Kingston esquiers, sir Henrie Willoughbie, and diuerse others, with souldiers to the number of ten thousand.

The English nobles arriue on the coast of Biskaie.

Amongst these were fine hundred Almans clad all in white, vnder the leading of one Guiot a gentleman of Flanders, all which (with the residue abouenamed) came to Southampton, and there mustered their bands which were appointed and trimmed in the best maner. On the sixteenth daie of Maie they were all bestowed aboord in Spanish ships furnished with vittels, and other necessaries for that iournie. The wind serued so well for their purpose, that they came all in safetie on the coast of Biskaie at the port of Passagh southwest of Fonterabie; and so the third daie of June they landed, and tooke the field, imbattelling themselues for their safegard right stronglie. Within three daies after that the armie was thus aland, there came to the marquesse an earle and an other noble man, to welcome him and his companie.

The English campe in Biskaie breaketh vp.

Then about the end of October it was agreed amongest all the lords of the English hoast that they should breake vp their campe, and so they did. The lord marquesse and his people went to saint Sebastian, the lord Howard and his retinue to Rendre, the lord Willoughbie to Garschang, and sir William Sands with many other capteins repaired to Fonterabie, and so euery capteine with his retinue was placed in one towne or other. The king of England aduertised of the king of Spaine his meaning, sent an herald called Windsor with letters vnto his armie, willing his men there to tarie, and promising to send ouer to them right shortlie a new supplie, vnder the guiding of the lord Herbert his chamberleine.

1513.

Tornaie besieged by king Henrie.—Holinshed, vol. III., pp. 823, 825.

On the one and twentith daie of September the king remooued his campe toward Tornaie, and approched the citie with his whole armie, and they of the citie issued foorth to proffer the skirmish: but the archers beat them backe. Also the carriage men that came with the herbingers, saw where certeine wagons were entering the citie, vnto which they ran, and tooke some of them. The king with his battell planted his siege on the north side the citie. The earle of Shrewsburie with the foreward lodged toward the south side of the riuer, and there laie that night. The lord Herbert with the rereward incamped himselfe on the west side, and beat the wals and towers of the citie with the great ordinance. The next daie after their comming thither, being the three and twentith of September, the earle of Shrewsburie with the foreward passed the riuer, and planted his siege on the south side of the citie, stretching to the east end, and bent his ordinance against the walles. And thus was the citie of Tornaie besieged on all parts.

The citie of Tornaie on all sides besieged.

The king of England lieng afront before Tornaie, caused his great ordinance to be planted round about the citie, and diuerse trenches were cast, and rampiers made, and the lord Lisle and the lord Willoughbie were appointed to mainteine the ordinance with

HENRY VIII. 1513.

their bands, and the earle of Kent was lodged before the gate called port Valencien; so that the citizens could not issue out, nor no aid could come in. The ordinance dailie beat the gates, towers, and wals, which made a great batterie: and a few Englishmen assaulted the port coquerell, but they were too few in number; and if they had been more in number, they had taken the towne, as the Tornasins confessed after. The citizens of Tornaie considering their estate came togither to councell, and finallie all agreed to treat.

The prouost, with eleuen more, submit themselues and ye'eld vp the citie to the king.

Then the prouost sent to the king a trumpet, desiring a safe conduct for him and certeine other to come and to speake with him: which request was to him granted. Then the prouost of the citie, accompanied with eleuen with him of the best of the citie, came to the armie, and spake with the lords of the councell, and after were led to the king's presence. The prouost kneeled downe and all his companie, and said: "Right high and mightie prince although the citie of Tornaie is strong, well walled, well replenished with people, vittels, artillerie, yea and the people in feare and dread of nothing; yet we know that against your great puissance it can not continue long, although it were ten times as strong as it is. Wherefore we knowing by report your honor, your wisedome, your iustice, and noble hart, are content to become your subjects and vassals, so that we may haue and injoy our old lawes, customes, liberties, and franchises, vnder you; as we haue before this doone vnder other princes."

Then said the king; "We haue well heard your petition, we will commune with our councell and make you answer." And when he had communed with his councell, he answered saieng: "Sirs, he that asketh mercie of vs, shall not be denied; and seeing you come to treat, we remit you to our councell." Then they went into the tent of councell, and there the Tornasins fell at a point, and in conclusion they yéelded the citie and ten thousand pounds sterling for the redemption of their liberties, and so departed to the citie, making relation of the king and his noble courage. On thursdaie the nine and twentith daie of September, the king was in his rich tent of cloth of gold vnder his cloth of estate, to whome came the citizens of the citie, and were sworne to him, and became his subjects.

The possession taken in the king of England's behalfe.

Then the king appointed the lord Lisle, the lord Aburgauenie, and the lord Willoughbie to take possession, which with six thousand men entered the citie, and tooke the market place and the wals, and searched the houses for feare of treason. Then maister Thomas Woolsie the king's almoner called before him all the citizens yoong and old, and sware them to the king of England, the number whereof was foure score thousand. Thus the king of England by conquest came to the possession of the citie of Tornaie. On sundaie the second daie of October, the king with his nobilitie all richlie apparelled with his sword borne before him, his heralds and sergeants of armes with trumpets and minstrelsie entered the citie, and came to our ladie church, and there *Te Deum* was soong.

Sir Edward Poinings made Leutenant of Tornaie.

The king and his councell ordered for the sure keeping of the citie of Tornaie, and there ordeined sir Edward Poinings knight of the order of the garter to be his lieutenant with foure hundred archers, with capteins, horssemen, and artillerie conuenient, and to haue aid of Henaud and other the king's friends adjoining; and of his gard he left there foure hundred archers, and ordinance was appointed for the defense of the same.

1525.
Lord Willoughby's death.—Dugdale, p. 87.

Lord Willoughby departing this life, at Hertford, in Suffolk, 19th October, 17 Henry 8, was buried in the Collegiate Church of Mettingham, in the same county.

HENRY VIII.
1525.

Collins's Peerage, vol. V., p. 74.

Leaving issue by the Lady Mary Salines, his wife (a Spaniard, who had been Maid of Honour to Queen Catherine, first wife of King Henry VIII.) one sole daughter, his heir, named Catherine.

ARMS OF LORD WILLOUGHBY.

(From a Pedigree at Birdsall House, Yorkshire, the seat of Digby Willoughby, IX Lord Middleton.)

Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk, Baroness Willoughby.

HENRY VIII.
1526.

KATHERINE, the daughter of William, the last Lord Willoughby de Eresby, who is described by Fuller to have been "a lady of a sharp wit, and sure hand to thrust it home and make it pierce when she pleased," was born in 1520, and, being his only child, inherited his dignity and fortune.

Birth of Katherine Willoughby, Baroness Willoughby.—"Five Generations of a Loyal House," Lady Georgina Bertie, pp. 2, 3.

On the death of her father, A.D. 1526, the orphan heiress was intrusted to the guardianship of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and eventually became his fourth wife. His third wife had been Mary, Queen of France, the sister of Henry VIII.

Her marriage to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.—Lady G. Bertie, p 3.

HENRY VIII.
1535.

Alexander Seaton, selected chaplain to the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk.—"Ladies of the Reformation," Rev. James Anderson, p. 319.

At what period of her life, or by what means the Duchess of Suffolk first became acquainted with the reformed principles is uncertain. But it is worthy of notice, as affording evidence that both she and the duke were friendly to the Reformation, that soon after their marriage they selected as their chaplain, Alexander Seaton, a Scottish friar, and a man of learning and ingenuity, who had been confessor to King James V. of Scotland, but who had been under the necessity of fleeing from his native country about the year 1535 or 1536, to escape persecution, in consequence of his having imbibed and preached the reformed doctrines.

Duchess of Suffolk's letter to Viscountess Lisle.—Miss Wood's "Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies," vol. II., p. 319.

"Madam,

"In my most hearty wise I heartily recommend me unto your Ladyship, heartily thank you for your good wine you sent me, which I assure you was very good; and also I heartily thank you for your little dog you sent me, wherein, I promise you, you have done me no little pleasure, which I promise you I shall be glad to acquit whenever it shall lie in me to do you any pleasure, to be as ready to it as any friend you have. Madam, my lord my husband has been heartily recommended to you, and to my lord your husband, and thanks you both for your kindness; also I pray you to have me heartily recommended to my lord your husband, as she which would be glad to be acquainted with him. No more to you at this time, but I beseech Jesu have you in His keeping.

Written at my lord of Shrewsbury's house in Yorkshire, the Saturday after our Lady's day, the Assumption,

"By your assured friend to my power,

"CATHERINE SUFFOLK."

1538.
November 14th.
Honor, Viscountess Lisle's letter to Lord Lisle.—Miss Wood, vol. III., pp. 38-40.

"Mine own sweet heart,

"Even with whole heart and mind I have me commended unto you, and so signifying you that I arrived here the 9th day of this month, being Saturday last past, and upon Sunday I sent to know whether I might, that day, speak with my lord privy seal or no; so that I had answer that it might in no wise that day be. And upon Monday following, in the morning, I spake with my lord, whom I found very good lord unto me, and to my son, his servant, and so he then willed me to sue unto the king's grace, as well for this my suit as your annuity. So that, following his counsel, I sent unto Sir John Russell, which is our very friend, to know what time I might best find to attend upon his grace, and he sent me word that there was no remedy but that I must take pain to come to Hampton Court, and there I should not fail but have time with his grace to open my suit unto him; so that I was then half unquieted the Tuesday all day; yet would I not thus leave, but sent again unto Mr. Russell, who, on the Wednesday, in the morning, sent me word that I should come to the Court, to his chamber, at four of the clock at afternoon, and then he would find means that I should speak with his grace. And so I followed his counsel, and came to the Court, at the hour limited; and at my coming I was had and conveyed unto a lodging which was prepared for me, and other lodgings for my lord and lady of Suffolk, the earls of Sussex and Hertford, and their ladies, which was appointed unknown unto me. Whereas I lay all that night, and the others, lords and ladies before mentioned; so that we were highly feasted at supper, and after banquetted, and this day dined; and after dinner his grace shewed us all the commodities of his palace, so that it was night ere we came from thence. And in this meantime I moved his grace, and gave his highness thanks for the great goodness he had shewed unto us and my son, so that, after much communication, his grace was very good and gracious lord unto you, my lord, me, and my son, and willed me to resort again unto my lord privy seal; which I intend to do this next morning, and incontinent thereupon, to send one of my folks over unto you, by whom I shall write

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1538.

unto you all things at large with more leisure. As touching Painswick, I never heard yet of it since my coming; what I shall do hereafter God knoweth, who send you mine own good lord as well to fare as myself, and me shortly where my heart already is.

"From London, the 14th day of November.

"By her that is more yours than her own,

"HONOR LISLE."

1543.
Marriage of Henry VIII. to Katharine Parr. —— Miss Strickland's "Lives of the Queens of England," vol. V., pp. 29, 30.

The nuptials of Henry VIII. and Katharine Parr, were solemnized much in the same way as royal marriages are in the present times, without pageantry, but with all suitable observances. The ceremony was performed by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, in the Queen's closet, at Hampton Court; and the high respect of the monarch for his bride was proved by his permitting the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, his daughters, and his niece, the Lady Margaret Douglas, to assist at these nuptials. The Queen was also supported by her sister. Mrs. Herbert, afterwards countess of Pembroke; her beloved friend, Katharine Willoughby, duchess of Suffolk; Anne, countess of Hertford; and Joanna, Lady Dudley. The King was attended by his brother-in-law, the earl of Hertford, Lord John Russell, privy seal, Sir Anthony Brown, master of the pensioners, Henry Howard, Richard Long, Thomas d'Arcy, Edward Baynton, the husband of the late queen's sister, Anthony Denny and Thomas Speke, knights, and William Herbert, the brother-in-law of his bride.

On the day of her marriage, Queen Katharine presented her royal step-daughter and bridesmaid, the Princess Mary, with a magnificent pair of gold bracelets, set with rubies, and the yet more acceptable gift in money of £25. Of course, the Princess Elizabeth, who also assisted at the bridal, was not forgotten.

1545.
Death of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.—Rev. J. Anderson, p. 320.

In 1545 the duchess sustained a heavy domestic affliction in the death of her husband, who died, after a short illness, on the 22nd of August that year. Hume represents him as "the most sincere and powerful friend that Archbishop Cranmer possessed at court." "This nobleman," adds the same historian, "is one instance that Henry was not altogether incapable of a cordial and steady friendship; and Suffolk seems to have been worthy of the favour which, from his earliest youth, he had enjoyed with his master."

1546.
Religious sentiments of the Duchess of Suffolk.—Rev. J. Anderson, pp. 321-323.

In the reign of Henry VIII., when the persecuting statute of the six articles was enforced with great severity, the duchess was suspected of holding sentiments adverse to the six articles, and particularly to one of them, the doctrine of transubstantiation. It was attempted, by the persecutors of that period, among whom Bishop Gardiner was conspicuous, to extract from Anne Askew information as to the heretical sentiments of the Duchess of Suffolk and of other ladies, who had supplied that devoted martyr with money for her maintenance when in prison; and the answers of Anne not being judged satisfactory, she was subjected, but in vain, to the torture, with the view of extorting from her the desired disclosures. In the following proclamation, which strongly savours of the style and spirit of Gardiner, issued in the king's name, and dated 8th July, 1546, just eight days before the martyrdom of Anne Askew, the duchess and other ladies and gentlemen of rank in the country or about the court were specially aimed at.—"From henceforth no man, woman, or other person, of what estate, condition, or degree he or they be, shall, after the last day of August next ensuing, receive, have, take, or keep, in his or their possession, the text of the New Testament of Tyndale's or Coverdale's, nor any other that is permitted by the act of Parliament, made in the session of the Parliament holden at Westminster, in the 34th and 35th year of his majesty's most noble reign."

In the reign of Edward VI., the duchess could avow her sentiments more freely than in the time of Henry VIII.; and she zealously encouraged the reforming measures which

EDWARD VI. 1547.

have rendered that reign so illustrious in the annals of the English Reformation. She is particularly commemorated for lending her aid to the efforts made by the government, towards the close of the year 1547, in Lincolnshire, to abolish superfluous holy days; to remove from the churches images and relics, to destroy shrines, coverings of shrines, and other monuments of idolatry and superstition; to put an end to pilgrimages; to reform the clergy; to see that every church had provided, in some convenient place, a copy of the large English Bible; to stir up bishops, vicars, and curates to diligence in preaching against the usurped authority and jurisdiction of the Pope, in inculcating upon all the reading of the Scriptures, and in teaching upon the Sabbath and at other times their parishioners, and especially the young, the Pater Noster, the Articles of Faith, and the Ten Commandments, in English.

1548. Death of Katherine Parr.—Lady G. Bertie, p. 4.

The Duchess had been the friend of Katherine Parr, late the Queen-dowager, who having married the younger brother of the Protector, lost her life in 1548, at the birth of an infant daughter.

1549. Her husband Lord Seymour, beheaded.—Rev. J. Anderson, p. 241. Their only child, Mary Seymour, placed under the care of the Duchess of Suffolk.—Rev. J. Anderson, pp. 241, 243.

Within less than a year after Katherine's death, namely, on March 17, 1549, Seymour perished on the scaffold, under a bill of attainder for high treason.

Their only child, whose name was Mary, upon the death of both her parents, after remaining a short time at her uncle Somerset's house, at Sion, was, according to her father's dying request, conveyed to Grimsthorpe, in Lincolnshire, the residence of Katherine, Duchess Dowager of Suffolk, a Protestant and intimate friend of the deceased mother, to be brought up under the care of that lady. She was accompanied by her governess, Mrs. Aglionby, her nurse, two maids, and other servants. Her mother having made her will in favour of Seymour, and his property having been confiscated on his condemnation, the little helpless orphan was left upon the charity of her friends. At the time of her leaving Sion, her uncle, the Duke of Somerset, promised that a pension should be settled upon her for her support, and that a portion of her nursery plate and furniture, brought to Sion House, should be sent after her to Grimsthorpe, promises which, to the disgrace of that nobleman, were never fulfilled, notwithstanding the persevering efforts of the Duchess of Suffolk to prevail upon him to fulfil them. This noble lady repeatedly wrote to him, to his duchess, and to William Cecil, afterwards the celebrated Lord Burghley, on the subject. Mary Seymour continued, it appears, for some years at least, under the care of the duchess, and she was ultimately married to Sir Edward Bushel.

1550. April 27th. Duchess of Suffolk's letter to Cecil.—"England under the Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, by Patrick Fraser Tytler," vol. I., p. 281.

Duchess of Suffolk to Cecil.

"Surely it is doubly worthy thanks that my Lord of Somerset hath of himself, unremembered, remembered and appointed the hearing of the matter between Mr. Fullington and Mr. Naunton. I do store up these thanks for him, but minding to bestow them sooner upon him, than you shall look for any for the pains you shall take in hearing the cause; for such is my opinion of you, that affection shall so much turn you to either party for [from] the equity as if they were Jews. Therefore, when friendship prevaileth not, what availeth thanks? If you will not break justice's head for friendship, look not for thanks at your friend's hand. But, indeed, you shall understand that the right is my friend; and, being good to my friend in which side soever he be, my thanks are like ready; so fare ye heartily well.

"At Kingston, the 27th of April,

"Your assured,

"K. SUFFOLK."

EDWARD VI.
1550.

The Duchess had to the Duke of Suffolk two sons, Henry and Charles, both of them youths of excellent promise.

Intended marriage of the Duchess of Suffolk's son, Henry Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.—Rev. J. Anderson, pp. 328, 329.

According to Strype, the duchess intended to match Duke Henry with Lady Agnes Woodville, who was brought up in her house, and the wardship and marriage of whom she had obtained from the king.

The Duke of Somerset, lord protector, with whom she was on a very friendly footing, was desirous that one of his daughters should be united in marriage to one of her sons, probably the eldest. She thus writes on the subject to William Cecil, afterwards the celebrated Lord Burghley.

May 9th.
Duchess of Suffolk's letter to Master Cecil.—Rev. J. Anderson, pp. 330, 331.

"And where it pleased my lord of Warwick, for the better show of his friendship, to wish my lord of Somerset to go through with my son for his daughter, I trust the friendship between my Lord Somerset and me hath been tried such, and hath so good assurance upon the simple respects of our good-will only, that we shall not need to do anything rashly or unorderly to make the world to believe the better of our friendships; and for the one of us to think well of the other, no unadvised bond between a boy and girl can give such assurance of good-will as has been tried already; and now, they marrying by our orders, and without their consents, or as they be yet without judgment to give such a consent as ought to be given in matrimony, I cannot tell what more unkindness one of us might show another, or wherein we might work more wickedly, than to bring our children into so miserable estate not to choose, by their own likings, such as they must profess so strait a bond and so great a love to for ever. This, I promise you, I have said for my lord's daughter as well as for my son, and this more I say for myself, and I say it not but truly, I know none this day living that I rather wish my son than she, but I am not, because I like her best, therefore desirous that she should be constrained by her friends to have him, whom she might, peradventure, not like so well as I like her; neither can I yet assure myself of my son's liking, neither do I greatly mistrust it, for if he be ruled by right judgment, then shall he, I am sure, have no cause to mislike, except he think himself misliked; but to have this matter come best to pass were that we parents kept still our friendship, and suffer our children to follow our examples, and to begin their loves of themselves, without our forcing; for, although both might happen to be obedient to their parents, and marry at our pleasures, and so find no other cause to mislike, but that by our power they lost their free choice, whereby neither of them can think themselves so much bounden to the other, that fault is sufficient to break the greatest love: wherefore I will make much of my lady's daughter, without the respect of my son's cause, and it may please my lord to love my son for his mother's sake, and so I doubt not, but if God do not mislike it, my son and his daughter shall much better like it to make up the matter themselves, and let them even alone with it, saying there can no good agreement happen between them that we shall mislike, and if it should not happen well, there is neither they nor none of us shall blame another. And so, my good Cecil, being weary, I leave you to the Lord.

"From Kingston, the 9th of May, 1550,

"Your assured,

"K. SUFFOLK.

"To my friend, Master Cecil."

May 18th.
Duchess of Suffolk's letter to Cecil.—P. F. Tytler, vol. I., p. 281.

"I have looked for letters from you. The season and want of counsel would have much commended them. Edmund Hall wrote to me that he opened to you the answer of my

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1550.

Lord Paget unto him as touching my desire to purchase Spilbye Chantry, and which way he adviseth me to enter into the same. He addeth in the same letter, that you promised to write your advice to me in that behalf; but I beshrew long the carrier that bringeth them not. I must therefore now proceed, like blind Bayard. I have written a letter with an ill-will to the whole body of the Council, according to my Lord Paget's device; but so as I mind not the delivery thereof, unless it like you the better. Me seemeth it had been the readier way to have a bill drawn of my suit, and the same to be presented to the whole Council, and with my private letters to labour my friends. Devise what you think good; either that my letter be delivered, or a bill of supplication. I would have written to my Lord of Somerset at this time, but my leisure serveth me not; and his assuredness maketh me the bolder to wait upon others. I pray you declare to Edmund Hall which way and how he shall give this onset; and afterwards, how I shall follow with my letters in the battle, and my money in the rearward. So with you farewell.

"At Kingston, the 18th of May,

"Your assured friend,

"K. SUFFOLK."

Duchess of Suffolk's letter to Cecil.—P. F. Tytler, vol. I, pp. 323, 324.

Among the congratulatory letters addressed to Cecil, on his appointment as Secretary, he received the following from his friend the Duchess of Suffolk. It is, as is usual with the epistolary effusions of this noble and notable lady, humorous, lively, and kind-hearted. It contains, also, another proof that the Secretary had been sent to the Tower.

Duchess of Suffolk to Cecil.

"I did never mistrust that you should alway live by your change, but at length change for the best and come to a good market. I have ever thought your wares to be so good and saleable: but you must consider the exchange goeth high now-a-days; and, tho' it were painful for you to go as far as the Tower for it, thanks yet be [to] the Lord that in the end you are no loser. I am contented to become your partner as you promise me, and will abide all adventures in your ship, be the weather fair or foul; and tho' I cannot help you with costly wares to furnish her, yet I shall ply you with my woollen stuff, which may serve her for ballast. If you marvel how that I am become so cunning in ship-works, you shall understand that I am about the making of one here by me at Bostons', or rather the patching of an old one; which gentle recompense I had for my wines, wherewith the Honor victualled the rebels in Norfolk the last year; so that now I am become a merchant vinter. Thus, many ways beggars seek their thrift; which having sought, and cannot find by land, I mind now to try my luck by water; and if I speed well, I promise you as liberally to divide with you as you promise me.

"I thank you heartily for your news from abroad, and rejoice they be so good. If Naunton's cause really be no better considered, with much ado, I hold my peace, and threaten to think the greater unkindness. And so fare you with Mistress or my Lady Meleryd," &c.

October 2nd.
Duchess of Suffolk's letter to Secretary Cecil.—Miss Wood, vol. III, p. 250.

"I must desire you, good master Cecil, to shew your friendship to this poor bearer, in a certain suit that one of Jersey hath against his brother. His request is but that it will please my lord of Somerset either to direct his letter or else to command his under captain in Jersey to call the matter before him, and to make some honest end of it, for otherwise the poor fool is like to be undone. But what this matter is I am not able to tell you, and I pray God the poor fool himself, be able to do it; but, if he can, I pray you then to help him, even for charity's sake, and with the more speed that he may the sooner return to his garden at home, for I can have no salad till he return, neither shall there be of sweet

herbs if you help him not with his suit. And so I commit him with all his evil English to you, and you to God.

"From Tattersal, the 2nd of October,

"Yours assured,

"To Master Cecil." "K. SUFFOLK.

1551.
Death of Martin Bucer.—Rev. J. Anderson, pp. 331, 332.

The Duchess took much interest in the foreign Protestants who had betaken themselves to England during the reign of Edward VI. These refugees were numerous, and consisted of Germans, French, Italians, Spaniards, Poles, some of whom had come to England for commercial purposes, but the greater part of whom had fled hither to escape the persecutions then raging in their respective countries. Of all the foreign Protestants, Martin Bucer, to whose care the duchess had recommended her sons when studying at Cambridge, was the man, the lustre of whose talents and Christian graces had called forth her profoundest admiration and esteem. This eminent man, during the time of her residence at Cambridge with her sons, was seized with his last illness, and, during the whole period of its continuance, she watched by his sick-bed with unwearied care, administering every comfort which his situation required, performing every office, and undergoing every fatigue which might be expected from the tender and self-denied affection of a mother; hoping that, by the blessing of God, she might be made the means of preserving a life so valuable to the Church, or, if death was determined, that by her unremitting attentions she might contribute to mitigate his sufferings, till the fatal struggle was over.

Death of the Duchess of Suffolk's sons, Henry and Charles, Dukes of Suffolk.—Rev. J. Anderson, pp. 334-336.

A few months after the death of Bucer, the Duchess was plunged into sorrow by the death of her two sons, who died of the sweating-sickness, on the 16th of July that year. This mournful event took place at Bugden, the Bishop of Lincoln's palace, whither the two youths had retired to escape the sickness, which had broken out with great severity, and carried off multitudes, both rich and poor, in many parts of England, and especially in London. Soon after their arrival they were taken ill. It is remarkable that the eldest brother, Duke Henry, when at supper, being then in perfect health, said to a worthy lady sitting at the table, and who loved the two brothers with a maternal affection, "Where shall we sup to-morrow night?" "Either in this house, I hope, my lord," she answered, "or elsewhere with some friend of yours," "By no means," said he, as if he had got some premonition of his approaching death, "for never after this shall we sup here together." At these words the lady became alarmed, on observing which he, smiling, bade her not be dismayed. Late in the evening his mother, feeling upon her spirit a more than usual anxiety about her children, came to Bugden, immediately after which he fell ill of the sweating-sickness, and suffered greatly from the burning heat of the disease. With the assistance of a physician, she used every means for his recovery, but all was in vain; the raging malady was not to be arrested, and in five hours he was a corpse. Charles, the younger brother, had been similarly attacked, and he was placed in a bed-chamber distant from that in which his brother lay. His brother's death was concealed from him, but from the manner of those about him, he suspected what had happened, and was observed to be more than usually thoughtful. Being asked by the physician upon what he was meditating, he replied, "I am thinking how hard it is to be deprived of one's dearest friend." "Why do you say so?" said the physician. He answered "How can you ask me? My brother is dead, but it matters not, I shall soon follow him." And so he did, having survived his brother only about half an hour.

EDWARD VI. 1551.

Under this severe bereavement, the loss of her only children, and that so suddenly and unexpectedly, the afflicted mother bore up with Christian fortitude, and displayed a becoming spirit of pious submission to the will of God. From many friends she received letters of kind condolence, and was generally sympathized with.

Several weeks after the last mournful duties had been performed to her children's remains, the duchess thus expresses her resigned and pious feelings, in a letter which she wrote to her friend, William Cecil:

Duchess of Suffolk's letter to Master Secretary Cecil.—Rev. J. Anderson, pp. 336, 337.

"I give God thanks, good Master Cecil, for all His benefits which it hath pleased Him to heap upon me, and truly I take this, His last (and to the first sight most sharp and bitter) punishment, not for the least of His benefits, inasmuch as I have never been so well taught by any other before to know His power, His love and mercy, my own wickedness, and that wretched estate that without Him I should endure here. And, to ascertain you that I have received great comfort in Him, I would gladly do it by talk and sight of you; but, as I must confess myself no better than flesh, so I am not well able with quiet to behold my very friends without some part of those evil dregs of Adam, to seem sorry for that whereof I know I rather ought to rejoice; yet, notwithstanding, I would not spare my sorrow so much, but I would gladly endure it, were it not for other causes that moveth me so to do, which I leave unwritten at this time, meaning to fulfil your last request to-morrow by seven o'clock in the morning. Then, if it please you, you may use him that I send you as if I stood by. So, with many thanks for your lasting friendship, I betake you to Him that both can, and, I trust, will govern you to His glory and your best contentation.

"From Grimsthorpe, this present Monday, your poorest but assured friend,

"K. SUFFOLK.

"To Master Secretary Cecil."

1552 Duchess of Suffolk's letter to Mr. Secretary Cecil.—P. F. Tytler, vol. II., p. 118.

"By the late coming of this buck to you, you shall perceive that wild things be not ready at commandment; for truly I have caused my keeper, yea, and went forth with him myself on Saturday at night after I came home, (which was a marvel for me), but so desirous was I to have had one for Mr. Latimer to have sent after him. For I have, ever since you wrote for yours, besides both my keepers, had . . . . . about it, and yet could not prevail afore this morning; and now I pray God it be anything worth.

"But as touching your hunting here. I would be sorry you should leave it undone on any such respects as you spoke of, for I am not so uncharitable, but I can well suffer them to come and hunt in your company; yea, and gladly would wish, not for any great need, I thank God that I have of them, but for good-will, that they would so neighbourly use me to hunt with my licence, tho' they leave not hunting whilst they left not one deer in my park; for their honest behaviour, being my neighbours and the worshipful of the Shire, should be more pleasant to me than any sport that any wild beast in all the world could make me. Yea, and were it not more for the pleasures of such, than for my own commodity, profit or pleasure, I would not leave one such beast about me, as might make any neighbour I have fall out with me; and that were now soon adone, for, I assure you, I have not to my knowledge two bucks more in my park. But that must not discharge you from hunting; for, if it please not you to take the pains to kill them, I am sure I get them not unless I kill them out of hand: wherefore I would desire you to take the pains, and take your part of them; and also you may have as good sport at the red-deer, and I pray you take it, for I am very glad when any of my friends may have their pastime here,

EDWARD VI
1552.

and nothing grieves me but when I cannot make the pastime with them; and therefore at your pleasure come and bring with you whom you will, and you shall be welcome, and they also for your sake. And so, with my hearty commendations to yourself, your wife, your father, and your mother, I bid you all farewell in the Lord.

"From Grimsthorp, this present Wednesday, at six o'clock in the morning, and, like a sluggard, in my bed, "Your assured to my power,

"K. SUFFOLK.

"Master Bertie is at London, to conclude if he can with the heirs; for I would gladly discharge the trust wherein my Lord did leave me, before I did, for any man's pleasure, anything else.

"To my very friend, Mr. Secretary Cecil."

Suitors to the Duchess.—Lady G. Bertie, p. 13.

Left unfettered by any ties, as was the Duchess at the death of her sons, and possessed of so many advantages, many suitors would of course become candidates for her hand. It is said that even Royalty itself was not unmindful of her position and merits.

1553.
The Duchess of Suffolk marries Richard Bertie.—Rev. J. Anderson, p. 337.

Towards the close of the reign of Edward VI., or in the beginning of the reign of Queen Mary, she married secondly Richard Bertie, a gentleman in her service, and, like herself, a Protestant. Though her inferior in rank, he was of a good family, and a man of excellent character, as well as of high accomplishments.

QUEEN MARY.
Imprisonment of Bishop Ridley.—Rev. J. Anderson, p. 337.

In the reign of Queen Mary, the duchess identified herself with the suffering Reformers, and relieved their wants by bountiful contributions. Bishop Ridley, who had been thrown into prison on the accession of that princess, in a letter to Augustine Bernecher, gratefully acknowledges his having received a liberal sum of money, sent to him by her, and says, that as he did not require it, he had handed it over to a "brother" in need, probably Bishop Latimer, who had also been imprisoned.

Bishop Ridley's letter to Augustine Bernecher.—Rev. J. Anderson, p. 338.

"Brother Augustine, I thank you for your manifold kindness. I have received my lady's grace's alms, six royals, six shillings, and eight pence. I have written a letter here unto her grace, but I have made no mention thereof; wherefore, I desire you to render her grace hearty thanks. Blessed be God, as for myself I want nothing, but my lady's alms cometh happily to relieve my poor brother's necessity, whom you know they have cast and keep in prison; as I suppose, you know the cause why. Farewell, brother Austin, and take good heed, I pray you, and let my brother's case make you the more wary. Read my letter to my lady's grace. I would Mrs. Wilkinson and Mrs. Warcup had a copy of it, for although the letter is directed to my lady's grace alone, yet the matter thereof pertaineth indifferently to her grace and to all good women, which love God and his Word in deed and truth.—Yours in Christ, N.R."

The Duchess of Suffolk refuses to attend the Mass.—Rev. J. Anderson, pp. 339-340.

When Mary, upon her accession, re-established the mass, the Duchess, who for many years past had ceased to countenance with her presence this idolatrous service, as well as other Popish rites, had made up her mind not to attend the celebration of mass, at whatever hazard. This was a proof of no small heroism. Of the extent of the danger she would thus incur she was not ignorant. She anticipated the displeasure of the queen, who was universally known to be one of the most fanatical devotees of Popery, though at the commencement of her reign she was prevented, from various causes, from going the length to which she afterwards went, when, quenching every feeling of humanity in her breast, she relentlessly persecuted to the death the reformed confessors. Should the queen, however, be so tolerant as to permit her to act in conformity with her judgment and conscience, she had another ground for apprehension, arising from the hatred of Bishop

QUEEN MARY. 1553.

Gardiner, her mortal enemy, whose sway at court was supreme. By her bitter sarcasms, she had exasperated the bishop, who had often ruminated on them as on so many insults, chafed and mortified; and now, when he was exalted to power, she had every reason to expect that he would make her nonconformity, the pretext for executing the long meditated vengeance. But these considerations did not subdue her resolution. She had counted the cost, and was prepared to make every sacrifice in the cause of truth. Hence the interest attaching to her subsequent life, the real story of which "out-romanced," to use the language of Fuller, "the fictions of many errant adventurers."

It may, perhaps, be supposed, that from her high rank she would be secure from the malicious intentions of Gardiner. But a slight attention to the policy as well as the character of that prelate, will show the groundlessness of such a supposition. Not only the spirit of revenge, but policy impelled him to meditate her ruin; for he conceived that the most effectual means of arresting the progress of heresy, or of extinguishing it altogether, was by striking down the Reformers most distinguished for rank or talent, or "the head deer" of the flock, as was the phrase at the time.

What increased the danger of the Duchess from Gardiner's cruelty, was his craft and dissimulation. "His malice," says Fuller, "was like what is commonly said of white powder, which surely discharged the bullet, yet made no report, being secret in all his acts of cruelty. This made him often chide Bonner, calling him an ass, though not so much for killing poor people as for not doing it more cunningly."

1554.
The old hatred of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, against the Duchess of Suffolk.—Fox's "Acts and Monuments", edition 1849, vol. VIII., p. 569.

Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, surmising the Lady Katherine, Baroness of Willoughby and Eresby, and Duchess Dowager of Suffolk, to be one of his antient enemies, because he knew he had deserved no better of her, devised, in the holy time of the first Lent in Queen Mary's reign, a holy practice of revenge, first touching her in the person of her husband, Master Richard Berty Esquire, for whom he sent an attachment (having the Great Seal at his devotion), to the Sheriff of Lincolnshire, with a special letter, commanding most straitly the same Sheriff, to attach the said Richard immediately, and without bail to bring him up to London, to his great Lordship. M. Berty her husband, being clear in conscience, and free from offence toward the Q., could not conjecture any cause of this strange process, unless it were some quarrel for Religion, which he thought could not be so sore as the process pretended.

M. Berty appeareth before Bishop Gardiner.—Fox, vol. VIII., p. 569.

The Sheriff, notwithstanding the commandment, adventured only to take the bond of M. Berty, with two sureties, in a thousand pounds, for his appearance to be made before the Bishop, on Good Friday following, at which day Master Berty appeared, the Bishop then lying at his house by Saint Mary Overy's. Of whose presence, when the Bishop understood by a gentleman of his Chamber, in a great rage he came out of his gallery, into his dining-chamber, where he found a press of suitors, saying he would not that day hear any, but came forth only to know of M. Berty, how he, being a subject, durst so arrogantly set at light two former processes of the Queen.

Discourse between Bishop Gardiner and M. Bertie.—Fox, vol. VIII., p. 569.

M. Berty answered, that albeit my Lord's words might seem to the rest somewhat sharp toward him, yet he conceived great comfort of them. For whereas he, before, thought it extremity to be attached, having used no obstinacy or contumacy, now he gathered of those words, that my Lord meant not otherwise but to have used some ordinary process; albeit indeed none came to his hands.

"Yea marry," quoth the Bishop, "I have sent you two subpœnas, to appear immediately;

and I am sure you received them, for I committed the trust of them to no worse man but to M. Solicitor, and I shall make you an example to all Lincolnshire, for your obstinacy.

M. Berty, denying the receipt of any, humbly prayed his Lordship to suspend his displeasure and the punishment till he had good trial thereof; and then, if it please him, to double the pain for the fault, if any were.

"Well," quoth the Bishop, "I have appointed myself this day (according to the holiness of the same), for devotion, and I will not further trouble me with you; but I enjoyn you in a thousand pounds not to depart without leave, and to be here again to-morrow at 7 of the clock." Master Berty well observed the hour, and no jot failed; at which time the Bishop had with him M. Sergeant Stampford, to whom he moved certain questions of the said Master Berty, because Master Sergeant was towards the Lord Wriothesley, late Earl of Southampton, and Chancellor of England, with whom the said Master Berty was brought up. Master Sergeant made very friendly report of M. Berty, of his own knowledge for the time of their conversation together. Whereupon the Bishop caused M. Berty to be brought in, and first making a false train (as God would, without fire), before he would descend to the quarrel of religion, he assaulted him in this manner.

M. Berty, attached for a debt.—Fox, vol. VIII., p. 570.

WINCH. "The Queen's pleasure is," quoth the Bishop, "that you shall make present payment of 4000 pounds, due to her father by Duke Charles, late husband to the Duchess, your wife, whose Executor she was."

BERT. "Pleaseth it your Lordship," quoth Master Berty, "that debt is estalled, and is according to that estallment truly answered."

WINCH. "Tush," quoth the Bishop, "the Queen will not be bound to estallments in the time of Kette's Government; for so I esteem the late Government."

BERT. "The estallment," quoth M. Berty, "was appointed by K. Henry the Eighth; besides, the same was by special Commissioners confirmed in K. Edward's time, and the Lord Treasurer being an Executor also to the Duke Charles solely and wholly, took upon him, before the said Commissioners, to discharge the same."

WINCH. "If it be true that you say," quoth the Bishop, "I will show you favour. But of another thing, Master Berty, I will admonish you, as meaning you well. I hear evil of your religion; yet I hardly can think evil of you, whose mother I know to be as godly and catholick as any within this land; yourself brought up with a master, whose education, if I should disallow, I might be charged as author of his error. Besides, partly I know you myself, and understand of my friends enough to make me your friend: wherefore I will not doubt of you. But I pray you, if I may ask the question of my Lady, your wife, is she now as ready to set up the Mass, as she was lately to pull it down, when she caused in her progress a dog in a rochet to be carried, and called by my name? Or doth she think her lambs now safe enough, which said to me, when I veiled my bonnet to her out of my chamber window in the tower, that it was merry with the lambs, now the wolf was shut up? Another time, my Lord her husband, having invited me and divers Ladies to dinner, desired every Lady to choose him whom she loved best, and so place themselves. My Lady your wife taking me by the hand, for that my Lord would not have her to take himself, said, that forasmuch as she could not sit down with my Lord whom she loved best, she had chosen him whom she loved worst."

"Of the device of the dog," quoth Master Berty, "she was neither the author, nor the allower. The words, though in that season they sounded bitter to your Lordship, yet if

it would please you without offence to know the cause, I am sure the one will purge the other. As touching setting up of Mass, which she learned not only by strong persuasions of divers excellent men, but by universal consent and order whole six years past, inwardly to abhor, if she should outwardly allow, she should both to Christ shew herself a false Christian, and to her Prince a masquing subject. You know, my Lord, one by judgment reformed, is more worth than a thousand transformed temporizers. To force a confession of religion by mouth, contrary to that in the heart, worketh damnation where salvation is pretended."

"Yea, marry," quoth the Bishop, "that deliberation would do well, if she were required to come from an old religion to a new. But now, she is to return from a new to an ancient religion: Wherein when she made me her gossip, she was as earnest as any."

"For that, my Lord," said Master Berty, "not long since, she answered a friend of hers, using your Lordship's speech, that religion went not by age, but by truth: and therefore she was to be turned by persuasion, and not by commandment."

"I pray you," quoth the Bishop, "think you it possible to persuade her?"

"Yea, verily," said M. Berty, "with the truth: for she is reasonable enough."

The Bishop thereunto replying, said, "it will be a marvellous grief to the Prince of Spain, and to all the nobility that shall come with him, when they shall find but two noble personages of the Spanish race within this land, the Queen, and my Lady your wife, and one of them gone from the faith."

Master Berty answered, that he trusted they should find no fruits of infidelity in her.

So the Bishop persuaded M. Berty to travail earnestly for the reformation of her opinion, and offering large friendship, released him of his bond from further appearance.

Ways devised for conveying the Duchess over the seas with the Queen's licence.—Fox, vol. VIII., p. 671.

The Duchess and her husband, daily more and more, by their friends understanding that the Bishop meant to call her to an account of her faith, whereby extremity might follow, devised ways how, by the Queen's licence they might pass the seas. Master Berty had a ready mean: for there rested great sums of money due to the old Duke of Suffolk, (one of whose executors the Duchess was), beyond the seas, the Emperor himself being one of those debtors. Master Berty communicated this his purposed suit for licence to pass the seas, and the cause, to the Bishop, adding, that he took this time most meet to deal with the Emperor, by reason of likelihood of marriage between the Queen and his son.

"I like your device well," quoth the Bishop, "but I think it better that you tarry the Prince's coming, and I will procure you his letters also to his father."

"Nay," quoth M. Berty, "under your Lordship's correction and pardon of so liberal speech; I suppose the time will then be less convenient: for when the marriage is consummate, the Emperor hath his desire; but till then he will refuse nothing, to win credit with us."

"By St. Mary," quoth the Bishop, smiling, "you guess shrewdly. Well, proceed in your suite to the Queen, and it shall not lack my helping hand."

M. Berty licensed by the Q., to pass the seas.—Fox, vol. VIII., p. 671.

Master Berty found so good success, that he in few days obtained the Queen's Licence, not only to pass the seas, but to pass and repass them so often as to him seemed good, till he had finished all his business and causes beyond the seas. So he passed the seas at Dover about the beginning of June, in the first year of her reign, leaving the Duchess behind, who, by agreement and consent betwixt her and her husband, followed, taking barge at Lion Key, very early in the morning, on the first day of January next ensuing, not without some peril.

There were none of those that went with her made privy to her going till the instant,

but an old gentleman, called Mr. Robert Cranwell, whom M. Berty had specially provided for that purpose. She took with her her daughter, an infant of one year, and the meanest of her servants, for she doubted the best would not adventure that fortune with her. They were in number four men, one a Greek born, which was a rider of horses, another a joyner, the third a brewer, the fourth a fool, one of the kitchen, one gentlewoman, and a laundress.

The manner of the Duchess flying out of her house.—Fox, vol. VIII., p. 572.

As she departed her house called the Barbican, betwixt four and five of the clock in the morning, with her company and baggage, one Atkinson, a herald, keeper of her house, hearing noise about the house, rose and came out with a torch in his hands as she was yet issuing out of the gate: wherewith being amazed, she was forced to leave a mail with necessaries for her young daughter, and a milk-pot with milk in the same gate-house, commanding all her servants to speed them away before, to Lion Key. And taking with her only the two women and her child: so soon as she was forth of her own house perceiving the herald to follow, she stept in at Charterhouse hard by. The herald coming out of the Duchess' house, and seeing no body stirring nor assured (though by the mail suspecting), that she was departed, returned in; and while he stayed ransacking parcels left in the mail, the Duchess issued into the streets, and proceeded in her journey, she knowing the place only by name where she should take her boat, but not the way thither, nor any with her. Likewise her servants having divided themselves, none but one knew the way to the said Key.

The Duchess with her company taketh Barge.—Fox vol. VIII., p. 572.

So she appeared like a mean merchant's wife, and the rest like mean servants, walking in the streets unknown. She took the way that led to Finsbury Field, and the others walked the city streets as they lay open before them, till by chance more than discretion, they met all suddenly together a little within Moorgate, from whence they passed directly to Lion Key, and there took barge in a morning so misty, that the steerman was loath to launch out, but that they urged him. So soon as the day permitted, the council was informed of her departure, and some of them came forthwith to her house, to enquire of the manner thereof, and took an inventory of her goods, besides further order devised for search and watch to apprehend and stay her.

The fame of her departure reached to Leigh, a town at the Land's end, before her approaching thither. By Leigh dwelt one Gosling, a merchant of London, an old acquaintance of Cranwell's, whither the said Cranwell brought the Duchess, naming her Mistress White, the daughter of Master Gosling; for such a daughter he had, which never was in that country. There she reposed her, and made new garments for her daughter, having lost her own in the mail at Barbican.

When the time came that she should take ship, being constrained that night to lye at an inn in Leigh (where she was again almost bewrayed), yet notwithstanding, by God's good working she escaped that hazard; at length, as the tide and wind did serve, they went abroad, and being carried twice into the seas, almost into the coast of Zealand, by contrary wind were driven to the place from whence they came, and at the last recoil, certain persons came to the shore, suspecting she was within that ship; yet having examined one of her company that was a-land for fresh achates; and finding by the simplicity of his tale, only the appearance of a mean merchant's wife to be a-shipboard, he ceased any further search.

The Duchess landed in Brabant.—Fox, vol. VIII., p. 572.

To be short, so soon as the Duchess had landed in Brabant, she and her women were apparelled like the women of the Netherlands, with hukes; and so she and her husband took their journey towards Cleveland, and being arrived at a town therein called Santon, took

a house there, until they might further devise of some sure place, where to settle themselves.

About five miles from Santon, is a free town called Wesell, under the said Duke of Cleves' dominion, and one of the Hans towns, priviledged with the company of the steelyard in London, whither divers Walloons were fled for religion, and had for their minister, one Francis Perusell, then called Francis de Rivers, who had received some courtesy in England at the Duchess' hands. Master Berty, being yet at Santon, practised with him to obtain a protection from the magistrates for his abode and his wife's at Wesell; which was the sooner procured, because the state of the Duchess was not discovered, but only to the chief magistrate, earnestly bent to shew them pleasure, while this protection was in seeking.

In the mean-while, at the town of Santon was a muttering that the Duchess and her husband were greater personages than they gave themselves forth, and the magistrates not very well inclined to religion, the Bishop of Arras also being Dean of the great minster, order was taken, that the Duchess and her husband should be examined of their condition and religion upon the sudden. Which practice, discovered by a gentleman of that country to M. Berty, he without delay taking no more than the Duchess, her daughter, and two others with them, as though he meant no more but to take the air, about three of the clock in the afternoon in February, on foot, without hiring of horse or waggon for fear of disclosing his purpose, meant to get privily that night to Wesell, leaving his other family still at Santon.

The hard entertainment of M. Berty and the Duchess at their returning into Wesell. —For, vol. VIII., p. 575.

After the Duchess and he were one English mile from the town, there fell a mighty rain of continuance, whereby a long frost and ice, before congealed, was thawed, which doubled more the weariness of those new hacquies. But, being now on the way, and overtaken with the night, they sent their two servants (which only went with them), to villages as they passed, to hire some car for their ease, but none could be hired. In the mean time Master Berty was forced to carry the child, and the Duchess his cloak and rapier. At last, betwixt six and seven of the clock in the dark night, they came to Wesell, and repairing to the inns for lodging, and some repose after such a painful journey, found hard entertainment: for going from inn to inn, offering large money for small lodging, they were refused of all the inn-holders. The child for cold and sustenance cried pitifully, the mother wept as fast, the heavens rained as fast as the clouds could pour.

M. Berty, destitute of all other succour of hospitality, resolved to bring the Duchess to the porch of the great church in the town, and so to buy coals, victuals, and straw for their miserable repose there that night, or at least till by God's help he might provide her better lodging. Master Berty at that time understood not much Dutch, and by reason of evil weather and late season of the night, he could not happen upon any that could speak English, French, Italian, or Latin, till at last going towards the church porch, he heard two striplings talking Latin, to whom he approached, and offered them two stivers to bring him to some Walloon's house.

By these boys, and God's good conduct, he chanced at the first upon the house where Master Perusell supped that night, who had procured them the protection of the magistrates of that town. At the first knock, the goodman of the house himself came to the door, and opening it, asked Master Berty what he was. Master Berty said, an Englishman, that sought for one Master Perusell's house. The Walloon willed Master Berty to stay a while, who went back, and told Master Perusell, that the same English gentleman,

of whom they had talked the same supper, had sent by likelihood his servant to speak with him. Whereupon Master Perusell came to the door, and beholding Master Berty, the Duchess, and their child, their faces, apparels, and bodies so far from their old form, deformed with dirt, weather, and heaviness, could not speak to them, nor they to him, for tears. At length recovering themselves, they saluted one another, and so together entered the house, God knoweth full joyfully: M. Berty changing his apparel with the good man, the Duchess with the good wife, and their child with the child of the house.

Within few days after, by Master Perusell's means, they hired a very fair house in the town, and did not let to show themselves what they were, in such good sort as their present condition permitted. It was by this time thorow the whole town what discourtesy the innholders had shewed unto them at their entry, insomuch as on the Sunday following, a preacher in the pulpit openly, in sharp terms, rebuked that great incivility toward strangers, by allegation of sundry places out of holy scriptures, discoursing how not only Princes sometime are received in the image of private persons, but angels in the shape of men, and that God of his justice would make them strangers one day in another land, to have more sense of the afflicted heart of a stranger.

The time thus passing forth, as they thought themselves thus happily settled, suddenly a watchword came from Sir John Mason, then Queen Mary's ambassador in the Netherlands, that my Lord Paget had feigned an errand to the baths that way: and whereas the Duke of Brunswick was shortly with ten ensigns, to pass by Wesell, for the service of the house of Austria, against the French King, the said Duchess and her husband should be with the same charge and company intercepted.

1556.
M. Berty and the Duchess remove to Windsheim.—Fox, vol. VIII., p. 674.

Wherefore to prevent the cruelty of these enemies, Master Berty with his wife and child departed to a place called Windsheim, in high Dutchland, under the Palsgrave's dominion; where, under his protection, they continued till their necessaries began to fail them, and they, almost fainting under so heavy a burden, began to fail of hope.

At what time, in the midst of their despair, there came suddenly letters to them from the Palatine of Wilna, and the King of Pole (being instructed of their hard estate by a baron named Joannes Alasco, that was sometime in England), offering them large courtesy. This provision unlooked for, greatly revived their heavy spirits. Yet, considering they should remove from many their countrymen and acquaintance, to a place so far distant, a country not haunted with the English, and perhaps upon their arrival not finding as they looked for, the end of their journey should be worse than the beginning; they devised thereupon with one Master Barlow, late Bishop of Chichester, that if he would vouchsafe to take some pains therein, they would make him a fellow of that journey. So finding him prone, they sent with him letters of great thanks to the King and Palatine, and also with a few principal Jewels (which only they had left of many), to solicit for them, that the King would vouchsafe under his seal, to assure them of the thing which he so honourably by letters offered.

1557.
The troubles happening to the Duchess of Suffolk in her journey to Poland.—Fox, vol. VIII., p. 675.

That suit, by the forwardness of the Palatine, was as soon granted as uttered. Upon which assurance the said Duchess and her husband, with their family, entered the journey in April, 1557, from the Castle of Windsheim, where they before lay, towards Frankfort. In the which their journey, it were long here to describe what dangers fell by the way upon them, and their whole company, by reason of their Landgrave's Captain, who, under a quarrel pretended for a spaniel of Master Berty's, set upon them in the highway with his horsemen, thrusting their boar-spears thorow the waggon where the

QUEEN MARY 1557.

children and women were, Master Berty having but four horsemen with him. In the which brabble it happened the Captain's horse to be slain under him.

Whereupon a rumor was sparsed immediately thorow towns and villages about, that the Landgrave's Captain should be slain by certain Walloons, which incensed the ire of the countrymen there more fiercely against Master Berty, as afterward it proved. For as he was motioned by his wife to save himself by the swiftness of his horse, and to recover some town thereby for his rescue, he, so doing, was in worse case than before: for the townsmen and the Captain's brother, supposing no less but that the Captain had been slain, pressed so eagerly upon him, that he had been there taken and murdered among them, had not he (as God would), spying a ladder leaning to a window, by the same got up into the house, and so gone up into a garret in the top of the house, where he with his dagger and rapier defended himself for a space; but at length the Burghmaister coming thither with another Magistrate which could speak Latin, he was counselled to submit himself to the order of the law. M. Berty, knowing himself clear, and the Captain to be alive, was the more bold to submit himself to the judgment of the law, upon condition that the Magistrate would receive him under safe conduct, and defend him from the rage of the multitude. Which being promised, M. Berty putteth himself and his weapon into the Magistrate's hand, and so was committed to safe custody, while the truth of his cause should be tryed.

Then Master Berty, writing his letters to the Landgrave, and to the Earl of Erpach, the next day early in the morning the Earl of Erpach, dwelling within eight miles, came to the town whither the Duchess was brought with her waggon, Master Berty also being in the same town under custody.

The Earl, who had some intelligence of the Duchess before, after he was come and had showed such curtesse as he thought to her estate was seemly, the townsmen perceiving the Earl to behave himself so humbly unto her, began to consider more of the matter, and further, understanding the Captain to be alive, both they, and especially the authors of the stir, shrank away, and made all the friends they could to M. Berty and his wife, not to report their doings after the worst sort.

M. Berty, with the Duchess, honourably entertained by the K. of Poland.—Fox, vol. VIII., p. 575.

And thus M. Berty and his wife, escaping that danger, proceeded in their journey toward Poland, where in conclusion they were quietly entertained of the King, and placed honourably in the Earldom of the said King of Poland in Sanogelia, called Crozan, where M. Berty, with the Duchess, having the King's absolute power of government over the said Earldom, continued both in great quietness and honour, till the death of Q. Mary.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. 1567.

Lady Mary Grey committed to the charge of the Duchess of Suffolk.—Lady C. Bertie, pp. 40, 41.

In the year 1567, a sort of state prisoner was committed to the charge of the Duchess, under rather remarkable circumstances. The Lady Mary Grey, the grand-daughter of her first husband, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, had been long in disgrace on account of her mésalliance with Mr. Thomas Keys, sergeant-porter at court, or sometimes called gentleman-porter. They were almost immediately separated; and whilst he was imprisoned in the Fleet, to wear out the rest of a very miserable life, the afflicted lady, his wife, was detained a prisoner, first at a place called the Chequers, in Buckinghamshire, under the charge of its owner, Mr. Hawtrey, and after two years resigned to the guardianship of her step-grandmother. The Duchess, on the 9th of August, 1567, writes from the Queen's house at Greenwich, what she terms "a begging letter" to Cecil, the secretary, and makes all the interest she can for her unhappy charge, "who," she adds, "is not only in

QUEEN ELIZABETH. 1567.

countenance, but in very deed, sad and ashamed of her fault." The Duchess' requests are certainly not exorbitant. After complaining of her poverty since her return from the other side of the sea, which had prevented her furnishing her own house at Grimsthorpe, she begs Lady Mary may be allowed the furniture of one room for herself and her maid, "some old silver pots to fetch her drink in, and ij lytell coupes to drink in. A bason and ewer, I fear were too much; but all these things she lacks, and it were meet she had, and has nothing in the world." She remained with the Duchess till June 1569, when she was made over to the care of Sir Thomas Gresham. Whether the Duchess' requirements were granted, does not appear.

1568. September 12th. Richard Bertie's letter to Sir William Cecil.—Lady G Bertie, p 41.

In the meanwhile, during her residence at Greenwich, or as Richard Bertie terms it, "the south," the Duchess was attacked by a violent fit of illness, which called him with all speed from Lincolnshire, on which occasion he quaintly describes her condition, and his own alarm, in a letter to Sir W. Cecil. After observing that Cecil might consider it "strange," if he omitted hearty thanks for the many courtesies he had received from him, he adds, "peradventure you will think it strangest to hear from me out of the south, but that the rumour of the Duchess' dangerous sickness spread over the land, could not be hid from the Court, the wind whereof made as great a wonder upon the land in Lincolnshire, as often is seen upon the seas, two ships with one wind carried contrary ways. So my Lord Monteagle's men, by occasion of report, so far by the way increased, that my lady was dead, before almost she fell sick, carried them apace northward, and me faster southward, with minds and prayers as contrary. But this wind, by God's great mercy well blown over, will shortly, I trust, bring us together in a calm; for my lady, though she continue a bedwoman, and not a footwoman, yet God be praised, she groweth a little stronger than her sickness, and sendeth to you, and to my lady your wife, as strong and hearty commendations as ever she did; and I pray you both think that my devotion towards you is even as great as hers, though I take it to be in the superlative degree. Rest you both most happily in God. From Barbican, the 12th of September, 1568.

"Yours most assuredly at commandment,

"R. BERTIE."

1580. September 19th. Death of the Duchess of Suffolk.—Rev. J. Anderson, p. 362.

Nothing important in the subsequent history of the Duchess has been recorded. She died September 19th, 1580, and was buried at Spilsby, in Lincolnshire.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. 1580.

Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1370.

Katherine, Baroness Willoughby de Eresby. Her Ladyship married twice; 1st, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, brother-in-law of King Henry VIII. She married, 2ndly, Richard Bertie, Esq., by whom she had a son and heir, Peregrine Bertie.

ARMS OF CATHERINE, DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK, AND RICHARD BERTIE.

Lady G. Bertie, p. 2.

Peregrine Bertie, XI. Lord Willoughby.*

Birth of Lord Willoughby.—Lady G. Bertie, pp. 58-60.

PEREGRINE BERTIE was born, as his patent of naturalization sets forth, in the city of Lower Wesel, in the Duchy of Cleves. His mother, it seems, was earnestly desirous that he should be entrusted to the care of Cecil, Lord Burghley; and he was accordingly brought up chiefly under that statesman's eye, and made great progress in learning and courtly accomplishments. He appears, in a letter, written in Latin when he was only thirteen years of age A.D. 1568, to have gratefully acknowledged the Treasurer's care.

His claim to the Title.—Lady G. Bertie, p. 62-64

On the decease of his mother, in 1580, he claimed and assumed the title of Willoughby, and at her funeral wore his mourning apparel in all points as a baron. Elizabeth, ever sparing of preferment, delayed for a short period the admission even of his undoubted right, which caused him to apply to the Lord Treasurer in these words:

Lord Willoughby's letter to the Lord Treasurer.—Strype's "Annals of the Reformation," vol. II., part 2, p. 399.

"That he found his senses so overcome with just pensiveness, that he could not presently write so fully as the Treasurer's person and his own cause required, by commending it to his honourable and friendly defence, &c. And his chiefest care was, that her majesty might not be induced sincerely to interpret worse of his claim than the matter ministered occasion, because he took the title and claim of Willughby and Eresby." He added, "That the question was handled in King Henry the Eighth's reign. And the right upon claim made by Sir Christopher Willughby, younger brother and heir male to the Lord Willughby, my grandfather, was adjudged to the Duchess, my dear mother. Now if my right, after sentence given, after so long seizin, and a dying seized of the Duchess, shall be called in question, I must needs think myself an abortive, and born in a most unfortunate hour; that her majesty had rather spoil her crown of a barony, than that I should be the person should do her that service. But in case your honour shall, of your friendly disposition towards me and justice, safely pilot me over this tempestuous sea, you shall confidently account that thereby you have erected a pillar in your own building, which shall never shrink or fail you for any stone whatsoever. And thus reposing myself wholly on your honourable goodness, with hearty prayer for your so good estate, I humbly take my leave.

"From Willoughby House.

"Your Lordship's humbly and assuredly at commandment,

"PEREGRINE BERTIE."

1582.
Lord Willoughby and other nobles escort the Duke of Anjou to Antwerp.—Lady G. Bertie, p. 65.

In the year 1582, we hear of his first employment in the Queen's service, who commanded him, with the Earl of Leicester and other noblemen and knights, to escort the Duke of Anjou back to Antwerp. This Duke of Anjou, who had then been resident for three months in England, was one of the numerous persons proposed as a suitable match for our renowned Elizabeth; and she appears to have been willing to dismiss him with honour at

* For Portrait, see Frontispiece.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. 1582.

least, though she did not (perhaps could not) bring herself in the end, after some sleepless nights, to accept his hand.

The Queen accompanies the Duke to Canterbury.—Motley's "Rise of the Dutch Republic," vol. III., pp. 515-519.

No open rupture with Elizabeth occurred. On the contrary, the Queen accompanied the Duke, with a numerous and stately retinue, as far as Canterbury, and sent a most brilliant train of her greatest nobles and gentlemen to escort him to the Netherlands, communicating at the same time, by special letter, her wishes to the Estates-General, that he should be treated with as much honour "as if he were her second self."

On the 10th of February, fifteen large vessels cast anchor at Flushing. The Duke of Anjou, attended by the Earl of Leicester, the Lords Hunsdon, Willoughby, Sheffield, Howard, Sir Philip Sidney, and many other personages of high rank and reputation, landed from this fleet. He was greeted on his arrival by the Prince of Orange, who, with the Prince of Espinoy and a large deputation of the States-General, had been for some days waiting to welcome him. The man whom the Netherlands had chosen for their new master stood on the shores of Zeeland. Francis Hercules, Son of France, Duke of Alençon and Anjou, was at that time just twenty-eight years of age; yet not even his flatterers, or his "minions," of whom he had as regular a train as his royal brother, could claim for him the external graces of youth or of princely dignity. He was below the middle height, puny and ill-shaped. His hair and eyes were brown, his face was seamed with the small-pox, his skin covered with blotches, his nose so swollen and distorted that it seemed to be double. This prominent feature did not escape the sarcasms of his countrymen, who, among other gibes, were wont to observe that the man who always wore two faces, might be expected to have two noses also. It was thought that his revolting appearance was the principal reason for the rupture of the English marriage, and it was in vain that his supporters maintained that if he could forgive her age, she might, in return, excuse his ugliness. It seemed that there was a point of hideousness beyond which even royal princes could not descend with impunity, and the only wonder seemed that Elizabeth, with the handsome Robert Dudley ever at her feet, could even tolerate the addresses of Francis Valois.

The Duke's arrival was greeted with the roar of artillery, the ringing of bells, and the acclamations of a large concourse of the inhabitants; suitable speeches were made by the magistrates of the town, the deputies of Zeeland, and other functionaries, and a stately banquet was provided, so remarkable "for its sugar-work and other delicacies, as to entirely astonish the French and English lords who partook thereof." The Duke visited Middelburg, where he was received with great state.

On the 17th of February, he set sail for Antwerp. A fleet of fifty-four vessels, covered with flags and streamers, conveyed him and his retinue, together with the large deputation which had welcomed him at Flushing, to the great commercial metropolis. He stepped on shore at Kiel, within a bowshot of the city—for, like other Dukes of Brabant, he was not to enter Antwerp until he had taken the oaths to respect the constitution—and the ceremony of inauguration was to take place outside the walls. A large platform had been erected for this purpose, commanding a view of the stately city, with its bristling fortifications and shady groves. A throne, covered with velvet and gold, was prepared, and here the Duke took his seat, surrounded by a brilliant throng, including many of the most distinguished personages in Europe.

It was a bright winter's morning. The gaily-bannered fleet lay conspicuous in the river, while an enormous concourse of people were thronging from all sides to greet the new sovereign. Twenty-thousand burgher troops, in bright uniforms, surrounded the plat-

form, upon the tapestried floor of which stood the magistrates of Antwerp, the leading members of the Brabant estates, with the Prince of Orange at their head, together with many other great functionaries.

Orator Hessels then read aloud the articles of the Joyous Entry, in the Flemish language, and the Duke was asked if he required any explanations of that celebrated constitution. He replied that he had thoroughly studied its provisions, with the assistance of the Prince of Orange, during his voyage from Flushing, and was quite prepared to swear to maintain them. The oaths, according to antique custom, were then administered. Afterwards, the ducal hat and the velvet mantle, lined with ermine, were brought, the Prince of Orange assisting his Highness to assume this historical costume of the Brabant dukes, and saying to him, as he fastened the button at the throat, "I must secure this robe so firmly, my lord, that no man may ever tear it from your shoulders."

Thus arrayed in his garment of sovereignty, Anjou was compelled to listen to another oration from the pensionary of Antwerp, John Van der Werken. He then exchanged oaths with the magistrates of the city, and received the keys, which he returned for safe-keeping to the burgomaster. Meanwhile the trumpets sounded, largess of gold and silver coins was scattered among the people, and the heralds cried aloud, "Long live the Duke of Brabant!"

Great State Procession.—Motley, vol. III., pp. 519-521.

A procession was then formed to escort the new Duke to his commercial capital. A stately and striking procession it was. The Hanseatic merchants in ancient German attire, the English merchants in long velvet cassocks, the heralds in their quaint costume, the long train of civic militia with full bands of music, the chief functionaries of the city and province in their black mantles and gold chains, all marching under emblematical standards or time-honoured blazons, followed each other in dignified order. Then came the Duke himself, on a white Barbary horse, caparisoned with cloth of gold. He was surrounded with English, French, and Netherland grandees, many of them of world-wide reputation. There was stately Leicester; Sir Philip Sydney, the mirror of chivalry; the gaunt and imposing form of William the Silent; his son, Count Maurice of Nassau, destined to be the first captain of his age, then a handsome, dark-eyed lad of fifteen; the Dauphin of Auvergne; the Maréchal de Biron and his sons; the Prince of Espinoy; the Lords Sheffield, Willoughby, Howard, Hunsdon, and many others of high degree and distinguished reputation. The ancient guilds of the crossbow-men and archers of Brabant, splendidly accoutred, formed the body-guard of the Duke, while his French cavaliers, the life-guardsmen of the Prince of Orange, and the troops of the line, followed in great numbers, their glittering uniforms all gaily intermingled, "like the flowers de luce upon a royal mantle." The procession, thus gorgeous and gay, was terminated by a dismal group of three hundred malefactors, marching in fetters, and imploring pardon of the Duke, a boon which was to be granted at evening. Great torches, although it was high noon, were burning along the road, at intervals of four or five feet, in a continuous line reaching from the platform at Kiel to the portal of Saint Joris, through which the entrance to the city was to be made.

Inside the gate a stupendous allegory was awaiting the approach of the new sovereign. A huge gilded car, crowded with those emblematical and highly-bedizened personages so dear to the Netherlanders, obstructed the advance of the procession. All the virtues seemed to have come out for an airing in one chariot, and were now waiting to offer their homage to Francis Hercules Valois. Religion in "red satin," holding the gospel in her

QUEEN ELIZABETH. 1582.

The Duke of Anjou enters Antwerp. —— Motley, vol. III., p. 621

hand, was supported by Justice, "in orange velvet," armed with blade and beam. Prudence and Fortitude embraced each other near a column enwreathed by serpents, "with their tails in their ears to typify deafness to flattery;" while Patriotism as a pelican, and Patience as a brooding hen, looked benignantly upon the scene. This greeting duly acknowledged, the procession advanced into the city. The streets were lined with troops and with citizens; the balconies were filled with fair women; "the very gables," says an enthusiastic contemporary, "seemed to laugh with ladies' eyes." The market-place was filled with waxen torches and with blazing tar-barrels, while in its centre stood the giant Antigonus—founder of the city thirteen hundred years before the Christian era—the fabulous personage who was accustomed to throw the right hands of all smuggling merchants into the Scheld. This colossal individual, attired in a "surcoat of sky-blue," and holding a banner emblazoned with the arms of Spain, turned its head as the Duke entered the square, saluted the new sovereign, and dropping the Spanish escutcheon upon the ground, raised aloft another bearing the arms of Anjou.

And thus, amid exuberant outpouring of confidence, another lord and master had made his triumphal entrance into the Netherlands. Alas! how often had this sanguine people greeted with similar acclamations the advent of their betrayers and their tyrants! How soon were they to discover that the man whom they were thus receiving with the warmest enthusiasm was the most treacherous tyrant of all!

It was nightfall before the procession at last reached the palace of Saint Michael, which had been fitted up for the temporary reception of the Duke.

The King of Denmark made Knight of the Garter.—Camden, p. 242, 243.

Queene Elizabeth to strengthen herself abroad against the Spaniard, whom she knew to be exasperated by that supply of money sent to the Duke of Anjou, chose Frederick the Second, King of Denmarke, whom long since she held most dear, into the Society of the Order of S. George, and sent unto him, to invest him with the ensigns of that Order, Peregrine Berty, Baron Willoughby of Eresby. The King of Denmarke gladly suffered the chain or collar of roses to be put about his necke, and the garter to be tyed about his legge: the rest of the ensigns he received to lay up, but denyed to put them on, because they were outlandish; and to take the oath he absolutely refused, for that he had done the same before, when he was admitted by the French King into the Order of S. Michael.

He neglecteth the complaints of the English.

Whilst Willoughby remained in Denmarke, he propounded to the King the complaints of the English Merchants. For they complained grievously that the customes were too much increased, whereas in times past they payed in passing the Danish Strait or Sound, but for every ship a rose noble, that is, the fourth part of an ounce of gold, and as much for their lading or merchandise, with some small moneys towards fires by night to direct their course, and barrels to shew the shelves and rocks. He dealt with him also in behalf of the Merchants, to release the payment of Lastgilt, whereby was exacted the thirtieth part of all their merchandise, by way of borrowing, during the heat of the warre betwixt the Kings of Denmarke and Swethland, with promise to repay it when the warre was ended. But these things, as being matters of great weight, were put off to another time. For scarce do Princes ever release their customes which they have once raised, who judge that such royalties (as they call them), do belong to the priviledge and liberty of every kingdome, and are not subject to any forreine moderation.

1585.

Ld. Willoughby's second Mission to Denmark.—Lady O. Bertie, p. 74.

The next public service in which Lord Willoughby was engaged, was a second mission to the King of Denmark, in 1585, when Elizabeth employed him to negociate with that monarch for the obtaining of succours, either in men or money, for the King of Navarre,

QUEEN ELIZABETH. 1585.

afterwards Henri Quatre. Lord Willoughby gives a very complete account of his negotiation, in his letters to Sir Francis Walsingham. In his report of it, dated December 15th, 1585, he mentions having received Her Majesty's letters of the 6th of December, and that he had dealt with the Chancellor Kaas in the affairs of the Hans Towns, and with success. On Sunday, the 12th, he says he had access to the King, going with great solemnity to the Chapel, where it was his custom to be accompanied by his two sons, and that on his return he delivered the Queen's letters and messages, the account of which must be given in his own words. "I laid," says he, "before him, the distressed state of the King of Navarre, and in what severe and forcible sort the French King is carried into the present action against him, letting him know the dangerous terms the said King of Navarre standeth in," which "hath stirred up in Her Majesty an extraordinary care of his safety and preservation;" also how "glad she would be to know his disposition in the cause, and how far forth he can be content to stretch himself towards a contribution for the levy of some forces to be sent unto him; which if the King will yield unto, Her Majesty will treat effectually with Casimir and the Landgrave Hesse."

Affairs of the King of Navarre.—Lady G. Bertie, p. 76.

On receiving these requests on the part of Elizabeth, the King desired that the Chancellor and Lord Willoughby should have further conference on the subject, and proceeded to the more agreeable task of entertaining his guest. Placing Lord Willoughby above him at table, the King sat down to a splendid and royal feast, and commencing as usual by compliments to the British sovereign, he declared that his first draught should always be to her, which he trusted she would return in like courtesy by him. He loaded Willoughby with every demonstration of respect, caused a lodging to be prepared for him in the castle, commanded the same attendance on him of his chiefest nobility as they rendered to himself, provided a diet for him, and two persons of the best quality he had, to be the one his cupbearer, the other his carver.—*Report of Lord Willoughby's Negotiation in Denmark, December 15th*, 1585. *State Paper Office, Denmark, Vol. I.*

The King of Denmark entertains Ld. Willoughby.—Lady G. Bertie, p. 77.

However, on the Wednesday following, on Willoughby's next interview with the King, he received His Majesty's reiterated professions of willingness to demonstrate his sound affection for his beloved "sister," but coupled with regrets that he could not satisfy her, whom he was "loth to deny," especially in a "cause he himself so well affected;" and trusted that she would think the best, and weigh well the reasons he had already set forth in his declaration.

The King's Declaration. Lady G. Bertie, p. 80.

Concluding that his mission was accomplished, and that he was at liberty to depart for Flanders, Lord Willoughby was on the eve of taking his departure from Copenhagen, when a hurried message from the King called him back to Cronenburgh; for Frederick, repenting apparently of the answer he had lately given, on second thoughts desired to mollify, though he did not retract it.

The King's Message.—Lady G. Bertie, p. 82

1586

The next we hear of Willoughby is in a letter of Lord Leicester's to Sir Francis Walsingham, from the Hague, dated February 21st, 1586, which announces his arrival at that place that same morning, with the welcome intelligence that the King of Denmark was willing to assist the Queen with troops. Again, on the 22nd, Lord Leicester mentions the kind message sent him by the King of Denmark, *through Lord Willoughby*, offering "to Her Majesty's service two thousand horse, with his best captains, *and his own son, if she pleases.*"

Arrival of Willoughby at the Hague.—Lady G. Bertie, p. 87.

Lord Willoughby went to Bergen-op-Zoom, of which town he was appointed Governor,

Made Governor of Bergen-op-Zoom.—Lady G. Bertie p. 97.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. 1586.

Sir Philip Sidney having resigned in his favour, which he (Sidney) explains in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, dated Utrecht, March 24th, 1586.

Axel surprised by Maurice and Sidney. —— Motley's "United Netherlands," vol. II., pp. 31-36.

Prince Maurice of Nassau, proposed carrying by surprise the city of Axel, and early in July, wrote to the Earl of Leicester, communicating the particulars of his scheme, but begging that the affair might be "very secretly handled," and kept from every one but Sidney. Leicester accordingly sent his nephew to Maurice, that they might consult together upon the enterprise, and the two arranged their plans in harmony.

Leicester, then, in order to deceive the enemy, came to Bergen-op-Zoom with five hundred men. In the night of the 16th of July, 1586, the five hundred English soldiers were despatched by water, under the charge of Lord Willoughby, "who," said the Earl, "would needs go with them." Young Hatton, too, son of Sir Christopher, also volunteered on the service, "as his first nursling." Sidney had five hundred of his own Zeeland regiment in readiness, and the rendezvous was upon the broad waters of the Scheldt, opposite Flushing. The plan was neatly carried out, and the united flotilla, in a dark, calm, midsummer's night, rowed across the smooth estuary and landed at Ter Neuse. Here they were joined by Maurice with some Netherland companies, and the united troops, between two and three thousand strong, marched to the place proposed. Before two in the morning they had reached Axel, but found the moat very deep. Forty soldiers immediately plunged in, however, carrying their ladders with them, swam across, scaled the rampart, killed the guard, whom they found asleep in their beds, and opened the gates for their comrades. The whole force then marched in, the Dutch companies under Colonel Pyron being first, Lord Willoughby's men being second, and Sir Philip with his Zeelanders bringing up the rear. The garrison, between five and six hundred in number, though surprised, resisted gallantly, and were all put to the sword. Of the invaders, not a single man lost his life. Sidney most generously rewarded from his own purse the adventurous soldiers who had swum the moat. A garrison of eight hundred, under Colonel Pyron, was left in Axel, and the dykes round were then pierced. Upwards of two millions' worth of property in grass, cattle, corn, was thus immediately destroyed in the territory of the obedient Netherlands.

Leicester lays siege to Zutphen, which Parma prepares to relieve.—Motley, vol. II., pp. 46-46.

On the night of 29th August, 1586 (St. Nov.), Alexander himself entered Zutphen, for the purpose of encouraging the garrison by promises of relief, and of ascertaining the position of the enemy. His presence inspired the soldiers with enthusiasm, so that they could with difficulty be restrained from rushing forth to assault the besiegers. In regard to the enemy, he found that Gibbet Hill was still occupied by Sir John Norris, who had entrenched himself very strongly, and was supposed to have thirty-five hundred men under his command. His position seemed quite impregnable. The rest of the English were on the other side of the river, and Alexander observed, with satisfaction, that they had abandoned a small redoubt, outside the Loor-Gate, through which the reinforcements must enter the city. The Prince determined to profit by this mistake, and to seize the opportunity thus afforded of sending those much-needed supplies. During the night the enemy were found to be throwing up works "most furiously," and skirmishing parties were sent out of the town to annoy them. In the morning Alexander returned to his camp at Berkelo, leaving Tassis in command of the Velluwe Forts, and Verdugo in the city itself. He had soon wheat and other supplies in readiness, sufficient to feed four thousand mouths for three months, and these he determined to send into the city immediately, and at every hazard.

The great convoy which was now to be dispatched, required great care and a powerful escort. Twenty-five hundred musketeers and pikemen, of whom one thousand were Spaniards, and six hundred cavalry, Epirotes, Spaniards, and Italians, under Hannibal Gonzaga, George Crescia, Bentivoglio, Sesa, and others, were accordingly detailed for this expedition. The Marquis del Vasto, to whom was entrusted the chief command, was ordered to march from Berkelo at midnight on Wednesday, 1st October (St. Nev.). It was calculated that he would reach a certain hillock not far from Warnsfeld by dawn of day. Here he was to pause, and send forward an officer towards the town, communicating his arrival, and requesting the co-operation of Verdugo, who was to make a sortie with one thousand men, according to Alexander's previous arrangements. The plan was successfully carried out. The Marquis arrived by day-break at the spot indicated, and dispatched Captain de Vega, who contrived to send intelligence of the fact. A trooper, whom Parma had himself sent to Verdugo, with earlier information of the movement, had been captured on the way. Leicester had therefore been apprized, at an early moment, of the Prince's intentions.

He had accordingly ordered Sir John Norris, who commanded on the outside of the town near the road which the Spaniards must traverse, to place an ambuscade in his way. Sir John took a body of two hundred cavalry, and ordered Sir William Stanley, with three hundred pikemen, to follow. A much stronger force of infantry was held in reserve and readiness. The ambuscade was successfully placed, before the dawn of Thursday morning, in the neighbourhood of Warnsfeld Church. On the other hand, the Earl of Leicester himself, anxious as to the result, came across the river just at day-break; he was accompanied by the chief gentlemen in his camp.

The business that morning was a commonplace and practical, though an important one, —to "impeach" a convoy of wheat and barley, butter, cheese, and beef—but the names of those noble and knightly volunteers, familiar throughout Christendom, sound like the roll-call for some chivalrous tournament. There were Essex and Audley, Stanley, Pelham, Russell, both the Sidneys, all the Norrises, men whose valour had been proved on many a hard-fought battle-field. There, too, was the famous hero of British ballad, whose name was so often to ring on the plains of the Netherlands —

The English intercept the Convoy.—Motley, vol. II., pp. 45-47.

> "The brave Lord Willoughby,
> Of courage fierce and fell,
> Who would not give one inch of way
> For all the devils in hell."

Twenty such volunteers as these sat on horseback that morning around the stately Earl of Leicester. It seemed an incredible extravagance to send a handful of such heroes against an army.

It was five o'clock of a chill autumn morning. It was time for day to break, but the fog was so thick that a man at the distance of five yards was quite invisible. The creaking of waggon wheels, and the measured tramp of soldiers soon became faintly audible, however, to Sir John Norris and his five hundred men as they sat there in the mist. Presently came galloping forward in hot haste those nobles and gentlemen, with their esquires, fifty men in all—Sidney, Willoughby, and the rest—whom Leicester had no longer been able to restrain from taking part in the adventure.

A force of infantry, the amount of which cannot be satisfactorily ascertained, had been ordered by the Earl to cross the bridge at a later moment.

The arrival of the expected convoy was soon more distinctly heard, but no scouts or

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outposts had been stationed to give timely notice of the enemy's movements. Suddenly the fog, which had shrouded the scene so closely, rolled away like a curtain, and in the full light of an October morning the Englishmen found themselves face to face with a compact body of more than three thousand men. The Marquis del Vasto rode at the head of the force, surrounded by a band of mounted arquebus men. The cavalry, under the famous Epirote chief George Crescia, Hannibal Gonzaga, Bentivoglio, Sesa, Conti, and other distinguished commanders, followed; the columns of pikemen and musketeers lined the hedge-rows on both sides of the causeway; while between them the long train of waggons came slowly along under their protection. The whole force had got into motion, after having sent notice of their arrival to Verdugo, who, with one or two thousand men, was expected to sally forth almost immediately from the city gate.

The Battle of Warnsfeld. Oct. 2.—Motley, vol. II., pp. 50-54.

There was but brief time for deliberation. Notwithstanding the tremendous odds, there was no thought of retreat. Black Norris called to Sir William Stanley, with whom he had been at variance so lately at Doesburg.

"There hath been ill blood between us," he said. "Let us be friends together this day, and die side by side, if need be, in Her Majesty's cause."

"If you see me not serve my prince with faithful courage now," replied Stanley, "account me for ever a coward. Living or dying I will stand or lie by you in friendship."

As they were speaking these words, the young Earl of Essex, general of the horse, cried to his handful of troopers:—

"Follow me, good fellows, for the honour of England and of England's Queen!"

As he spoke he dashed, lance in rest, upon the enemy's cavalry, overthrew the foremost man, horse and rider, shivered his own spear to splinters, and then, swinging his curtel-axe rode merrily forward. His whole little troop, compact as an arrow-head, flew with an irresistible shock against the opposing columns, pierced clean through them, and scattered them in all directions. At the very first charge one hundred English horsemen drove the Spanish and Albanian cavalry back upon the musketeers and pikemen. Wheeling with rapidity, they retired before a volley of musket-shot, by which many horses, and a few riders were killed, and then formed again to renew the attack. Sir Philip Sidney, on coming to the field, having met Sir William Pelham, the veteran lord marshal, lightly armed, had with chivalrous extravagance thrown off his own cuishes, and now rode to the battle with no armour but his cuirass. At the second charge his horse was shot under him, but mounting another, he was seen everywhere in the thick of the fight, behaving himself with a gallantry which extorted admiration even from the enemy.

For the battle was a series of personal encounters, in which high officers were doing the work of private soldiers. Lord North, who had been lying "bed-rid," with a musket-shot in the leg, had got himself put on horseback, and "with one boot on and one boot off," bore himself "most lustily" through the whole affair. "I desire that Her Majesty may know," he said, "that I live but to serve her. A better barony than I have could not hire the Lord North to live on meaner terms." Sir William Russell laid about him with his curtel-axe to such purpose, that the Spaniards pronounced him a devil and not a man. "Wherever," said an eye-witness, "he saw five or six of the enemy together, thither would he; and with his hard knocks soon separated their friendship." Lord Willoughby encountered George Crescia, general of the famed Albanian cavalry, unhorsed him at the first shock, and rolled him into the ditch. "I yield me thy prisoner," called

out the Epiroto in French, "for thou art a preux chevalier;" while Willoughby, trusting to his captivo's word, galloped onward, and with him the rest of the little troop, till they seemed swallowed up by the superior numbers of the enemy. His horse was shot under him, his basses were torn from his legs, and he was nearly taken a prisoner, but fought his way back with incredible strength and good fortune. Sir William Stanley's horse had seven bullets in him, but bore his rider unhurt to the end of the battle. Leicester declared Sir William and "old Reade" to be "worth their weight in pearl."

Hannibal Gonzaga, leader of the Spanish cavalry, fell mortally wounded. The Marquis del Vasto, commander of the expedition, nearly met the same fate. An Englishman was just cleaving his head with a battle-axe, when a Spaniard transfixed the soldier with his pike. The most obstinate struggle took place about the train of waggons. The teamsters had fled in the beginning of the action, but the English and Spanish soldiers, struggling with the horses, and pulling them forward and backward, tried in vain to get exclusive possession of the convoy which was the cause of the action. The carts at last forced their way slowly nearer and nearer to the town, while the combat still went on, warm as ever, between the hostile squadrons. The action lasted an hour and a half, and again and again the Spanish horsemen wavered and broke before the handful of English, and fell back on their musketeers. Sir Philip Sidney, in the last charge, rode quite through the enemy's ranks till he came upon their entrenchments, when a musket-ball from the camp struck him upon the thigh, three inches above the knee.

The fight was over. Sir John Norris bade Lord Leicester "be merry, for," said he, "you have driven the enemy three times to retreat." But, in truth, it was now time for the English to retire in their turn. Their reserve never arrived. The whole force engaged against the 3,500 Spaniards, had never exceeded 250 horse and 300 foot, and of this number the chief work was done by the 50 or 60 volunteers and their followers. The heroism which had been displayed was fruitless, except as a proof—and so Leicester wrote to the Palatine John Casimir—"that Spaniards were not invincible." Two thousand men now sallied from the Loor-Gate, under Verdugo and Tassis, to join the force under Vasto, and the English were forced to retreat. The whole convoy was then carried into the city, and the Spaniards remained masters of the field.

Thirteen troopers and twenty-two foot soldiers, upon the English side, were killed. The enemy lost perhaps 200 men.

Leicester's rewards.—Lady G. Bertie, p. 113.

The romantic valour displayed in the above engagement was certainly deserving of reward; and Lord Leicester accordingly, to show his sense of merit, and "for his own honour's sake," conferred in his camp the dignity of a Knight Banneret on the Earl of Essex, the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Audley, and the Lord North: and knighted Sir Henry Goodyere, captain of the guard, Sir Henry Norris (brother of Sir John), Sir John Winkfield, or Wingfield, &c., &c.

Death of Sidney.

The brave and amiable Sir Philip Sidney was not, however, spared to the wishes of his uncle. The wound he had received proved mortal. He had been removed from the field of battle to a place called Arnam, where Leicester visited him; and where, on the 17th of October, he expired.

1587.

Results of Leicester's administration.—Motley, Vol. II., p. 351, 352.

Leicester found himself, at the end of his second term in the Provinces, without a single friend, and with few respectable partisans.

He was not the statesman to deal in policy with Buys, Barneveld, Ortel, Sainte Aldegonde; nor the soldier to measure himself against Alexander Farnese. His adminis-

tration was a failure; and although he repeatedly hazarded his life, and poured out his wealth in their behalf with an almost unequalled liberality, he could never gain the hearts of the Netherlanders. English valour, English intelligence, English truthfulness, English generosity, were endearing England more and more to Holland. The Statesmen of both countries were brought into closest union, and learned to appreciate and to respect each other, while they recognised that the fate of their respective commonwealths was indissolubly united. But it was to the efforts of Walsingham, Drake, Raleigh, Wilkes, Buckhurst, Norris, Willoughby, Williams, Vere, Russell, and the brave men who fought under their banners or their councils, on every battle-field, and in every beleagured town in the Netherlands, and to the universal spirit and sagacity of the English nation in this grand crisis of its fate, that these fortunate results were owing; not to the Earl of Leicester, nor—during the term of his administration—to Queen Elizabeth herself.

1588
Distracted condition of Dutch Republic.—Motley. Vol. II., pp. 354, 355.

The blackest night that ever descended upon the Netherlands—more disappointing because succeeding a period of comparative prosperity and triumph—was the winter of 1587-8, when Leicester had terminated his career by his abrupt departure for England, after his second brief attempt at administration. For it was exactly at this moment of anxious expectation, when dangers were rolling up from the south, till not a ray of light or hope could pierce the universal darkness, that the little commonwealth was left without a chief. The English Earl departed, shaking the dust from his feet; but he did not resign. The supreme authority, so far as he could claim it, was again transferred, with his person, to England.

The consequences were immediate and disastrous. All the Leicestrians refused to obey the States-General. Utrecht, the stronghold of that party, announced its unequivocal intention to annex itself, without any conditions whatever, to the English crown, while in Holland, young Maurice was solemnly installed stadtholder, and captain-general of the Provinces, under the guidance of Hohenlo and Barneveld. But his authority was openly defied in many important cities within his jurisdiction by military chieftains who had taken the oaths of allegiance to Leicester as governor, and who refused to renounce fidelity to the man who had deserted their country, but who had not resigned his authority. Of these mutineers, the most eminent was Diedrich Sonoy, governor of North Holland, a soldier of much experience, sagacity, and courage, who had rendered great services to the cause of liberty and Protestantism, and had defaced it by acts of barbarity which had made his name infamous. Against this refractory chieftain it was necessary for Hohenlo and Maurice to lead an armed force, and to besiege him in his stronghold—the important city of Medenblik—which he resolutely held for Leicester, although Leicester had definitely departed, and which he closed against Maurice, although Maurice was the only representative of order and authority within the distracted commonwealth. And thus civil war had broken out in the little scarcely-organized republic, as if there were not dangers and blood-shed enough impending over it from abroad. And the civil war was the necessary consequence of the Earl's departure.

The English forces, reduced as they were by sickness, famine, and abject poverty, were but a remnant of the brave and well-seasoned bands which had faced the Spaniards with success on so many battle-fields.

Willoughby reluctantly takes command.—Motley, vol II., pp. 355-357.

The general who now assumed chief command over them, by direction of Leicester, subsequently confirmed by the Queen, was Lord Willoughby. A daring, splendid dragoon, an honest, chivalrous, and devoted servant of his Queen, a conscientious adherent of

Leicester, and a firm believer in his capacity and character. He was, however, not a man of sufficient experience or subtlety to perform the various tasks imposed upon him by the necessities of such a situation. Quick-witted, even brilliant in intellect, and the bravest of the brave on the battle-field, he was neither a sagacious administrator, nor a successful commander. And he honestly confessed his deficiencies, and disliked the post to which he had been elevated. He scorned baseness, intrigue, and petty quarrels, and he was impatient of control. With a high sense of honour, and a keen perception of insult, very modest and very proud, he was not likely to feed with wholesome appetite upon the unsavoury annoyances which were the daily bread of a chief commander in the Netherlands. "I ambitiously affect not high titles, but round dealing," he said; "desiring rather to be a private lance with indifferent reputation, than a colonel-general spotted or defamed with wants." He was not the politician to be matched against the unscrupulous and all-accomplished Farnese; and indeed no man better than Willoughby could illustrate the enormous disadvantage under which Englishmen laboured at that epoch in their dealings with Italians and Spaniards. The profuse indulgence in falsehood which characterized Southern statesmanship, was more than a match for English love of truth. English soldiers and negotiators went naked into a contest with enemies armed in a panoply of lies. It was an unequal match, as we have already seen, and as we are soon more clearly to see. How was an English soldier who valued his knightly word—how were English diplomatists—among whom one of the most famous—then a lad of twenty, secretary to Lord Essex in the Netherlands—had poetically avowed that "simple truth was highest skill"—to deal with the thronging Spanish deceits, sent northward by the great father of lies who sat in the Escorial?

"It were an ill lesson," said Willoughby, "to teach soldiers the dissimulations of such as follow princes' courts in Italy. For my own part, it is my only end to be loyal and dutiful to my sovereign, and plain to all others that I honour. I see the finest reynard loses his best coat, as well as the poorest sheep." He was also a strong Leicestrian, and had imbibed much of the Earl's resentment against the leading politicians of the States. Willoughby was sorely in need of counsel. That shrewd and honest Welshman, Roger Williams, was for the moment absent. Another of the same race and character commanded in Bergen-op-Zoom, but was not more gifted with administrative talent than the general himself.

"Sir Thomas Morgan is a very sufficient, gallant gentleman," said Willoughby, "and in truth a very old soldier; but we both have need of one that can both give and keep counsel better than ourselves. For action he is undoubtedly very able, if there were no other means to conquer but only to give blows."

In brief, the new commander of the English forces in the Netherlands was little satisfied with the States, with the enemy, or with himself, and was inclined to take but a dismal view of the disjointed commonwealth, which required so incompetent a person as he professed himself to be, to set it right.

"'Tis a shame to show my wants," he said, "but too great a fault of duty that the Queen's reputation be frustrate. What is my slender experience? What an honourable person do I succeed! What an encumbered popular state is left! What withered sinews, which it passes my cunning to restore! What an enemy in head greater than heretofore! And wherewithal should I sustain this burthen? For the wars, I am fitter to obey than to command. For the State, I am a man prejudicated in their

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opinion, and not the better liked of them that I have earnestly followed the general; and being one that wants both opinion and experience with them I have to deal, and means to win more or to maintain that which is left, what good may be looked for?"

English Commissioners come to Ostend.—Motley, Vol. II., pp. 358, 359.

Meantime the English sovereign, persisting in her delusion, and despite the solemn warnings of her own wisest counsellors, and the passionate remonstrances of the States-General of the Netherlands, sent her peace-commissioners to the Duke of Parma.

The Earl of Derby, Lord Cobham, Sir James Croft, Valentine Dale, Doctor of Laws and former Ambassador at Vienna, and Dr. Rogers, Envoys on the part of the Queen, arrived in the Netherlands in February. The Commissioners appointed on the part of Farnese were Count Aremberg, Champagny, Richardot, Jacob Maas, and Secretary Garnier.

The English Commissioners arrived at Ostend. With them came Robert Cecil, youngest son of Lord-treasurer Burghley, then twenty-five years of age. He had no official capacity, but was sent by his father, that he might improve his diplomatic talents, and obtain some information as to the condition of the Netherlands.

Cecil makes a tour in Flanders.—Motley, Vol. II., pp. 371, 374.

While at dinner in Lanfranchi's house, Cecil was witness to another characteristic of the times, and one which afforded proof of even more formidable freebooters abroad than those for whom the bailiff of Waasland had erected his gibbets. A canal-boat had left Antwerp for Brussels that morning, and in the vicinity of the latter city had been set upon by a detachment from the English garrison of Bergen-op-Zoom, and captured, with twelve prisoners and a freight of 60,000 florins in money. "This struck the company at the dinner table all in a dump," said Cecil. And well it might; for the property mainly belonged to themselves, and they forthwith did their best to have the marauders way-laid on their return. But Cecil, notwithstanding his gratitude for the hospitality of Lanfranchi, sent word next day to the garrison of Bergen of the designs against them, and on his arrival at the place, had the satisfaction of being informed by Lord Willoughby that the party had got safe home with their plunder.

"And well worthy they are of it," said young Robert, "considering how far they go for it."

The traveller, on leaving Antwerp, proceeded down the river to Bergen-op-Zoom, where he was hospitably entertained by that doughty old soldier Sir William Reade, and met Lord Willoughby, whom he accompanied to Brielle, on a visit to the deposed elector Truchsess, then living in that neighbourhood.

Dangerous discord in North Holland. Motley, Vol. II., pp. 409, 410.

Sonoy, in the name of Leicester, took arms against Maurice and the States; Maurice marched against him; and Lord Willoughby, commander-in-chief of the English forces, was anxious to march against Maurice. It was a spectacle to make angels weep, that of Englishmen and Hollanders preparing to cut each other's throats, at the moment when Philip and Parma were bending all their energies to crush England and Holland at once.

Indeed, the interregnum between the departure of Leicester and his abdication was diligently employed by his more reckless partizans to defeat and destroy the authority of the States. By prolonging the interval, it was hoped that no government would be possible except the arbitrary rule of the Earl, or of a successor with similar views; for a republic—a free commonwealth—was thought an absurdity. To entrust supreme power to advocates, merchants, and mechanics, seemed as hopeless as it was vulgar. Willoughby, much devoted to Leicester, and much detesting Barneveld, had small scruple in fanning the flames of discord.

There was open mutiny against the States by the garrison of Gertruydenberg, and

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Willoughby's brother-in-law, Captain Wingfield, commanded in Gertruydenberg. There were rebellious demonstrations in Naarden, and Willoughby went to Naarden. The garrison was troublesome, but most of the magistrates were firm. So Willoughby supped with the burgo-masters, and found that Paul Buys had been setting the people against Queen Elizabeth, Leicester, and the whole English nation, making them all odious. Colonel Dorp said openly that it was a shame for the country to refuse their own natural-born Count for strangers. He swore that he would sing his song whose bread he had eaten. A "fat militia captain" of the place, one Soyssons, on the other hand, privately informed Willoughby that Maurice and Barneveld were treating underhand with Spain. Willoughby was inclined to believe the calumny, but feared that his corpulent friend would lose his head for reporting it. Meantime, the English commander did his best to strengthen the English party in their rebellion against the States.

"But how if they make war upon us?" asked the Leicestrians.

"It is very likely," replied Willoughby, "that if they use violence you will have her Majesty's assistance, and then you who continue constant to the end will be rewarded accordingly. Moreover, who would not rather be a horse-keeper to her Majesty, than a captain to Barneveld or Buys?"

Leicester's resignation arrives.—Motley, Vol. II., pp 412, 413.

When at last the resignation of Leicester—presented to the States by Killegrew, on the 31st of March—seemed to promise comparative repose to the republic, the vexation of the Leicestrians was intense.

With mischief-makers like Champernoun in every city, and with such diplomatists at Ostend as Croft, and Rogers, and Valentine Dale, was it wonderful that the King and the Duke of Parma found time to mature their plans for the destruction of both countries?

Lord Willoughby, too, was extremely dissatisfied with his own position. He received no commission from the Queen for several months. When at last it reached him, it seemed inadequate, and he became more sullen than ever. He declared that he would rather serve the Queen as a private soldier, at his own expense—"lean as his purse was"—than accept the limited authority conferred upon him. He preferred to show his devotion "in a beggarly state, than in a formal show." He considered it beneath her Majesty's dignity that he should act in the field under the States, but his instructions forbade his acceptance of any office from that body but that of general in their service. He was very discontented, and more anxious than ever to be rid of his functions. Without being extremely ambitious, he was impatient of control. He desired not "a larger-shaped coat," but one that fitted him better. "I wish to shape my garment homely, after my cloth," he said, "that the better of my parish may not be misled by my sumptuousness. I would live quietly, without great noise, my poor roof low and near the ground, not subject to be over-blown with unlooked-for storms, while the sun seems most shining."

Enmity of Willoughby and Maurice.—Motley, Vol. II., pp. 413, 414.

Being the deadly enemy of the States and their leaders, it was a matter of course that he should be bitter against Maurice. That young Prince, bold, enterprising, and determined as he was, did not ostensibly meddle with political affairs more than became his years; but he accepted the counsels of the able statesmen in whom his father had trusted.

Riding, hunting, and hawking seemed to be his chief delight at the Hague, in the intervals of military occupations. He rarely made his appearance in the state-council during the winter, and referred public matters to the States-General, to the States of Holland, to Barneveld, Buys, and Hohenlo. Superficial observers like George Gilpin

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regarded him as a cipher; others, like Robert Cecil, thought him an unmannerly school-boy; but Willoughby, although considering him insolent and conceited, could not deny his ability. The peace-partisans among the burghers—a very small faction—were furious against him, for they knew that Maurice of Nassau represented war. They accused of deep designs against the liberties of their country the youth who was ever ready to risk his life in their defence. A burgomaster from Friesland, who had come across the Zuyder Zee to intrigue against the States' party, was full of spleen at being obliged to dance attendance for a long time at the Hague. He complained that Count Maurice, green of years, and seconded by greener counsellors, was meditating the dissolution of the state-council, the appointment of a new board from his own creatures, the overthrow of all other authority, and the assumption of the sovereignty of Holland and Zeeland, with absolute power. "And when this is done," said the rueful burgomaster, "he and his turbulent fellows may make what terms they like with Spain to the disadvantage of the Queen and of us poor wretches."

But there was nothing farther from the thoughts of the turbulent fellows than any negotiations with Spain. Maurice was ambitious enough, perhaps, but his ambition ran in no such direction. Willoughby knew better, and thought that by humouring the petulant young man it might be possible to manage him.

"Maurice is young," he said, "hot-headed, coveting honor. If we do but look at him through our fingers, without much words, but with providence enough, baiting his hook a little to his appetite, there is no doubt but he might be caught and kept in a fish-pool, while in his imagination he may judge it a sea. If not, 'tis likely he will make us fish in troubled waters."

Maurice was hardly the fish for a mill-pond even at that epoch, and it might one day be seen whether or not he could float in the great ocean of events. Meanwhile he swam his course without superfluous gambols or spoutings.

The commander of her Majesty's forces was not satisfied with the States, nor their generals, nor their politicians. "Affairs are going *a malo in pejus*," he said. "They embrace their liberty as apes their young. To this end are Counts Hollock and Maurice set upon the stage to entertain the popular sort. Her Majesty and my Lord of Leicester are not forgotten. The Counts are in Holland, especially Hollock, for the other is but the cipher. And yet I can assure you Maurice hath wit and spirit too much for his time."

Willoughby's dark pictures of affairs. [Willoughby to Walsingham, 19 Feb., 1 Mar., 1588 (S.P. Office, MS.)] —Motley, Vol. II., pp. 415, 416.

As the troubles of the interregnum increased Willoughby was more dissatisfied than ever with the miserable condition of the Provinces, but chose to ascribe it to the machinations of the States' party, rather than to the ambiguous conduct of Leicester. "These evils," he said, "are especially derived from the childish ambition of the young Count Maurice, from the covetous and furious counsels of the proud Hollanders, now chief of the States-General, and, if with pardon it may be said, from our slackness and coldness to entertain our friends. The provident and wiser sort—weighing what a slender ground the appetite of a young man is, unfurnished with the sinews of war to manage so great a cause—for a good space after my Lord of Leicester's departure, gave him far looking on, to see him play his part on the stage."

Willoughby's spleen caused him to mix his metaphors more recklessly than strict taste would warrant, but his violent expressions painted the relative situation of parties more vividly than could be done by a calm disquisition. Maurice thus playing his part upon

the stage—as the general proceeded to observe—"was a skittish horse, becoming by little and little assured of what he had feared, and perceiving the harmlessness thereof: while his companions, finding no safety of neutrality in so great practices, and no overturning nor barricade to stop his rash wilded chariot, followed without fear; and when some of the first had passed the bog, the rest, as the fashion is, never started after. The variable democracy, embracing novelty, began to applaud their prosperity; the base and lewdest sorts of men, to whom there is nothing more agreeable than change of Estates, as a better monture to degrees than their merit, took present hold thereof. Hereby Paul Buys, Barneveld, and divers others, who were before mantled with a tolerable affection, though seasoned with a poisoned intention, caught the occasion, and made themselves the Beelzebubs of all these mischiefs, and, for want of better angels, spared not to let fly our golden winged ones in the name of guilders, to prepare the hearts and hands that hold money dearer than honesty, of which sort the country troubles and the Spanish practices having suckled up many, they found enough to serve their purpose. As the breach is safely saltable where no defence is made, so they, finding no head, but those scattered arms that were disavowed, drew the sword with Peter, and gave pardon with the Pope, as you shall plainly perceive by the proceedings at Horn. Thus their force, fair words, or corruption, prevailing everywhere, it grew to this conclusion—that the worst were encouraged with their good success, and the best sort assured of no fortune or favour."

Out of all this hubbub of stage-actors, skittish horses, rash wilded chariots, bogs, Beelzebubs, and golden-winged angels, one truth was distinctly audible; that Beelzebub in the shape of Barneveld, had been getting the upper hand in the Netherlands, and that the Leicestrians were at a disadvantage. In truth those partisans were becoming extremely impatient. Finding themselves deserted by their great protector, they naturally turned their eyes towards Spain, and were now threatening to sell themselves to Philip. The Earl, at his departure, had given them privately much encouragement. But month after month had passed by while they were waiting in vain for comfort. At last the "best"—that is to say, the unhappy Leicestrians—came to Willoughby, asking his advice in their "declining and desperate cause."

"Well nigh a month longer," said that general, "I nourished them with compliments, and assured them that my Lord of Leicester would take care of them." The diet was not fattening. So they began to grumble more loudly than ever, and complained with great bitterness of the miserable condition in which they had been left by the Earl, and expressed their fears lest the Queen likewise meant to abandon them. They protested that their poverty, their powerful foes, and their slow friends, would compel them either to make their peace with the States' party, or "compound with the enemy."

Hatred between States and Leicestrians.—[Willoughby to Walsingham—MS. last quoted.]—Motley, Vol. II., p. 417.

It would have seemed that real patriots, under such circumstances, would hardly hesitate in their choice, and would sooner accept the dominion of "Beelzebub," or even Paul Buys, than that of Philip II. But the Leicestrians of Utrecht and Friesland—patriots as they were—hated Holland worse than they hated the Inquisition. Willoughby encouraged them in that hatred. He assured them of her Majesty's affection for them, complained of the factious proceedings of the States, and alluded to the unfavourable state of the weather as a reason why—near four months long—they had not received the comfort out of England which they had a right to expect. He assured them that neither the Queen nor Leicester would conclude this honourable action, wherein much had been hazarded, "so rawly and tragically" as they seemed to fear, and warned them, that "if

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they did join with Holland, it would neither ease nor help them, but draw them into a more dishonourable loss of their liberties; and that, after having wound them in, the Hollanders would make their own peace with the enemy."

It seemed somewhat unfair—while the Queen's government was straining every nerve to obtain a peace with Philip, and while the Hollanders were obstinately deaf to any propositions for treating—that Willoughby should accuse them of secret intentions to negotiate. But it must be confessed that faction has rarely worn a more mischievous aspect than was presented by the politics of Holland and England in the winter and spring of 1588.

Young Maurice was placed in a very painful position. He liked not to be "strangled in the great Queen's embrace;" but he felt most keenly the necessity of her friendship, and the importance to both countries of a close alliance. It was impossible for him, however, to tolerate the rebellion of Sonoy, although Sonoy was encouraged by Elizabeth, or to fly in the face of Barneveld, although Barneveld was detested by Leicester. So with much firmness and courtesy, notwithstanding the extravagant pictures painted by Willoughby, he suppressed mutiny in Holland, while avowing the most chivalrous attachment to the Sovereign of England.

End of Sonoy's rebellion.—Motley, Vol. II., pp. 420, 421.

At last the Queen informed Willoughby, that—as the cause of Sonoy's course seemed to be his oath of obedience to Leicester, whose resignation of office had not yet been received in the Netherlands—she had now ordered Councillor Killigrow to communicate the fact of that resignation. She also wrote to Sonoy requiring him to obey the States and Count Maurice, and to accept a fresh commission from them, or at least to surrender Medenblik, and to fulfil all their orders with zeal and docility. So soon as the news reached Sonoy, that contumacious chieftain found his position untenable, and he allowed the States' troops to take possession of Medenblik, and with it the important territory of North Holland, of which province Maurice now saw himself undisputed governor. Sonoy was in the course of the summer deprived of all office.

Willoughby's exploits against the Spaniards.—Lady G. Bertie, pp. 207-209.

On the 30th of July, Willoughby received two letters from the Lords of the Privy Council, urging demands for ships and "shot," (a) for the defence of the seas against the common enemy of England and the States, the haughty power of Spain. A stronger tie can scarcely be found, than that which unites two parties for mutual protection and good offices, when the same danger threatens both; and besides the aid which Elizabeth might justly demand from Holland for herself, that country was selfishly interested in opposing the ambition of the tyrant with whom it had so long contended. The requests of Elizabeth were presented through her General; and the shipping demanded had already, through his solicitations, been granted for the common defence, and had even put to sea.

The movements of the Spaniards were watched by Willoughby with all the eagerness and promptitude of his nature.

On the 31st of July, having learnt that a large Spanish ship was hovering between Ostend and Sluys, he sent out three men-of-war to take her, and after a fight of two hours, she was captured, and several persons of rank in her were either killed or taken prisoners.

His own personal exploits were very successful: he overthrew a cornet of horse of Breda, and gained, with inferior numbers, an advantage over the enemy at Gertruydenburgh. "The Lord General," writes Mr. Digges to Sir Francis Walsingham, on the 6th of August, "hath in person caused the soldiers of Gertruydenburgh to draw blood of the enemy, to

(a) An old word for soldiers armed with muskets.

his great honour, and their singular commendation; the rather for that it was upon extreme disadvantage and inequality of number." The writer adds, that "the Lord General had been within these two days at Berghen, the States having intreated him to take measures for the defence of the place."

By the 6th of August we find him at Middleburgh; the shot he had been directed to obtain, prepared to sail, but at one time detained by contrary winds, and afterwards by Willoughby, on his own responsibility, for a few days, "to see," as he himself expresses it to the Lords of the Privy Council, "what might fall out, hoping in the meantime to understand from your Lordships (upon this passing by of the enemy, and the Duke of Parma's hovering for advantage), some further direction."

At this moment the baffled and dispersed Spanish Fleet was passing northwards along the Dutch shores; Willoughby longed to join in its defeat, and wrote a pressing entreaty to the Privy Council at home to be permitted (as he had commission to fight by sea or land), to "procure Count Maurice, if possible, to go to sea with such forces as we are able to make, to pursue the said Duke of Parma, to impeach his coming forth and landing, though it be unto the coast of England: for it will be most necessary that he be carefully hindered and (so much as may be) prevented, because the hope of the rest is wholly fixed upon his success; and nothing can more let him, than to be followed in continual fight with the fleet of this country, mixed with some of her Majesty's forces." He adds "that finding Lord Henry Seymour has returned to the Downs, he has sent away the soldiers, (that being the place first appointed for their meeting) though he greatly fears their want may be felt where he is; because about Saturday, the Duke, as we have intelligence, will put forth."

"As for the Prince of Parma," said Drake, "I take him to be as a bear robbed of her whelps." The Admiral was quite right. Alexander was beside himself with rage.

Great energy of Parma. Motley, Vol. II., pp. 508 511.

So soon as he had received information of the arrival of the fleet before Calais—which was on the 8th August—he had proceeded the same night to Newport and embarked 16,000 men, and before dawn he was at Dunkirk, where the troops stationed in that port were as rapidly placed on board the transports. Sir William Stanley, with his 700 Irish kernes, were among the first shipped for the enterprise. Two days long these regiments lay heaped together, like sacks of corn, in the boats—as one of their officers described it—and they lay cheerfully, hoping that the Dutch fleet would be swept out of the sea by the Invincible Armada, and patiently expecting the signal for setting sail to England. Then came the Prince of Ascoli, who had gone ashore from the Spanish fleet at Calais, accompanied by Serjeant-major Gallinato and other messengers from Medina Sidonia, bringing the news of the fire-ships and the dispersion and flight of the Armada.

To the Queen's glorious naval commanders, to the dauntless mariners of England, with their well-handled vessels, their admirable seamanship, their tact and their courage, belonged the joys of the contest, the triumph, and the glorious pursuit; but to the patient Hollanders and Zeelanders, who, with their hundred vessels, held Farnese, the chief of the great enterprise, at bay, a close prisoner with his whole army in his own ports, daring him to the issue, and ready—to the last plank of their fleet and to the last drop of their blood—to confront both him and the Duke of Medina Sidonia, an equal share of honour is due. The safety of the two free commonwealths of the world in that terrible contest was achieved by the people and mariners of the two states combined. The Duke of Parma, melancholy, disappointed, angry—stung to the soul by calumnies as stupid as they were venomous,

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Alexander besieges Bergen-op-Zoom.—Motley, Vol. II., pp. 537, 538.

and already afflicted with a painful and lingering disease, which his friends attributed to poison administered by command of the master whom he had so faithfully served—determined, if possible, to afford the consolation which that master was so plaintively demanding at his hands.

So Alexander led the splendid army which had been packed in, and unpacked from, the flat boats of Newport and Dunkirk, against Bergen-op-Zoom, and besieged that city in form. Once of great commercial importance, although somewhat fallen away from its original prosperity, Bergen was well situate on a little stream which connected it with the tide-waters of the Scheldt, and was the only place in Brabant, except Willemstad, still remaining to the States. Opposite lay the Isle of Tholen from which it was easily to be supplied and reinforced. The Vosmeer, a branch of the Scheldt, separated the island from the main, and there was a path along the bed of that estuary, which, at dead low-water, was practicable for wading. Alexander, accordingly, sent a party of eight hundred pikemen, under Montiguy, Marquis of Renty, and Ottavio Mansfeld, supported on the dyke by three thousand musketeers, across the dangerous ford, at ebb-tide, in order to seize this important island. It was an adventure similar to those, which, in the days of the grand commander, and under the guidance of Mondragon, had been on two occasions so brilliantly successful. But the Isle of Tholen was now defended by Count Solms and a garrison of fierce, amphibious Zeelanders—of those determined bands which had just been holding Farnese and his fleet in prison, and daring him to the issue—and the invading party, after fortunately accomplishing their night-journey along the bottom of the Vosmeer, were unable to effect a landing, were driven with considerable loss into the waves again, and compelled to find their way back as best they could, along their dangerous path, and with a rapidly rising tide. It was a blind and desperate venture, and the Vosmeer soon swallowed four hundred of the Spaniards. The rest, half-drowned or smothered, succeeded in reaching the shore—the chiefs of the expedition, Renty and Mansfeld, having been with difficulty rescued by their followers, when nearly sinking in the tide.

The place was well defended by an English and Dutch garrison, to the number of five thousand, and commanded by Colonel Morgan, that bold and much experienced Welshman, so well known in the Netherland wars. Willoughby and Maurice of Nassau, and Olden-Barneveld were at different times within the walls; for the Duke had been unable to invest the place so closely as to prevent all communications from without.

Incidents of the siege.—Motley, vol. II., p. 541.

Alexander received a visit in his tent from an Englishman, one Lieutenant Grimstone, the object of whose interview with the Duke was not political, but had a direct reference to the siege of Bergen. He was accompanied by a countryman of his own, Redhead by name, a camp-sutler by profession. The two represented themselves as deserters from the besieged city, and offered, for a handsome reward, to conduct a force of Spaniards, by a secret path, into one of the gates. The Duke questioned them narrowly, and being satisfied with their intelligence and coolness, caused them to take an oath on the Evangelists, that they were not playing him false. He then selected a band of one hundred musketeers, partly Spaniards, partly Walloons—to be followed at a distance by a much more considerable force, two thousand in number, under Sancho de Leyva and the Marquis of Renti—and appointed the following night for an enterprise against the city, under the guidance of Grimstone.

It was a wild autumnal night, moonless, pitch-dark, with a storm of wind and rain.

The waters were out—for the dykes had been cut in all directions by the defenders of the city—and with the exception of some elevated points occupied by Parma's forces, the whole country was overflowed. Before the party set forth on their daring expedition, the two Englishmen were tightly bound with cords, and led, each by two soldiers instructed to put them to instant death if their conduct should give cause for suspicion. But both Grimstone and Redhead preserved a cheerful countenance, and inspired a strong confidence in their honest intention to betray their countrymen. And thus the band of bold adventurers plunged at once into the darkness, and soon found themselves contending with the tempest, and wading breast high in the black waters of the Scheldt.

After a long and perilous struggle, they at length reached the appointed gate. The external portcullis was raised, and the fifteen foremost of the band rushed into the town. At the next moment, Lord Willoughby, who had been privy to the whole scheme, cut with his own hand the cords which held the portcullis, and entrapped the leaders of the expedition, who were all at once put to the sword, while their followers were thundering at the gate. The Lieutenant and suttler, who had thus overreached that great master of dissimulation, Alexander Farnese, were at the same time unbound by their comrades, and rescued from the fate intended for them.

Notwithstanding the probability—when the portcullis fell—that the whole party had been deceived by an artifice of war, the adventurers who had come so far, refused to abandon the enterprise, and continued an impatient battery upon the gate. At last it was swung wide open, and a furious onslaught was made by the garrison upon the Spaniards. There was a fierce, brief struggle, and then the assailants were utterly routed. Some were killed under the walls, while the rest were hunted into the waves. Nearly every one of the expedition (a thousand in number) perished.

Alexander is forced to raise the siege of Bergen.—Motley, Vol. II., p. 643. 644.

It had now become obvious to the Duke that his siege must be raised. The days were gone when the walls of Dutch towns seemed to melt before the first scornful glance of the Spanish invader, and when a summons meant a surrender, and a surrender a massacre. Now, strong in the feeling of independence, and supported by the courage and endurance of their English allies, the Hollanders had learned to humble the pride of Spain, as it never had been humbled before. The hero of a hundred battle-fields, the inventive and brilliant conqueror of Antwerp, seemed in the deplorable issue of the English invasion to have lost all his genius, all his fortune. A cloud had fallen upon his fame, and he now saw himself, at the head of the best army in Europe, compelled to retire, defeated and humiliated, from the walls of Bergen. Winter was coming on apace; the country was flooded; the storms in that bleak region and inclement season were incessant; and he was obliged to retreat before his army should be drowned.

On the night of 12—13 November he set fire to his camp, and took his departure. By daybreak he was descried in full retreat, and was hotly pursued by the English and Dutch from the city, who drove the great Alexander and his legions before them in ignominious flight. Lord Willoughby, in full view of the retiring enemy, indulged the allied forces with a chivalrous spectacle. Calling a halt, after it had become obviously useless, with their small force of cavalry, to follow any longer, through a flooded country, an enemy who had abandoned his design, he solemnly conferred the honour of knight-hood, in the name of Queen Elizabeth, on the officers who had most distinguished themselves during the siege, Francis Vere, Baskerville, Powell, Parker, Knowles, and on the two Netherland brothers, Paul and Marcellus Bax.

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The Duke of Parma in Brabant.

The Duke of Parma then went into winter quarters in Brabant, and, before the spring, that obedient Province had been eaten as bare as Flanders had already been by the friendly Spaniards.

The siege of Gertruydenberg.—Motley, Vol. II., p.p. 544, 545.

An excellent understanding between England and Holland had been the result of their united and splendid exertions against the Invincible Armada. Late in the year 1588 Sir John Norris had been sent by the Queen to offer her congratulations and earnest thanks to the States for their valuable assistance in preserving her throne, and to solicit their cooperation in some new designs against the common foe. Unfortunately, however, this epoch of good feeling was of brief duration. Bitterness and dissension seemed the inevitable conditions of the English-Dutch alliance. It will be remembered, that, on the departure of Leicester, several cities had refused to acknowledge the authority of Count Maurice and the States; and that civil war in the scarcely-born commonwealth had been the result. Medenblik, Naarden, and the other contumacious cities had however been reduced to obedience after the reception of the Earl's resignation, but the important city of Gertruydenberg had remained in a chronic state of mutiny. This rebellion had been partially appeased during the year 1588 by the efforts of Willoughby, who had strengthened the garrison by reinforcements of English troops under command of his brother-in-law Sir John Wingfield. Early in 1589, however, the whole garrison became rebellious, disarmed and maltreated the burghers, and demanded immediate payment of the heavy arrearages still due to the troops. Willoughby, who—much disgusted with his career in the Netherlands—was about leaving for England, complaining that the States had not only left him without remuneration for his services, but had not repaid his own advances, nor even given him a complimentary dinner, tried in vain to pacify them. A rumour became very current, moreover, that the garrison had opened negotiations with Alexander Farneso, and accordingly Maurice of Nassau—of whose patrimonial property the city of Gertruydenberg made a considerable proportion, to the amount of eight thousand pounds sterling a year—after summoning the garrison, in his own name and in that of the States, to surrender, laid siege to the place in form. It would have been cheaper, no doubt, to pay the demands of the garrison in full, and allow them to depart. But Maurice considered his honour at stake. His letters of summons, in which he spoke of the rebellious commandant and his garrison as self-seeking foreigners and mercenaries, were taken in very ill part. Wingfield resented the statement in very insolent language, and offered to prove its falsehood with his sword against any man and in any place whatever. Willoughby wrote to his brother-in-law, from Flushing, when about to embark, disapproving of his conduct and of his language; and to Maurice, deprecating hostile measures against a city under the protection of Queen Elizabeth. At any rate, he claimed that Sir John Wingfield and his wife, the Countess of Kent, with their newly-born child, should be allowed to depart from the place. But Wingfield expressed great scorn at any suggestion of retreat, and vowed that he would rather surrender the city to the Spaniards than tolerate the presumption of Maurice and the States. The young Prince accordingly opened his batteries, but before an entrance could be effected into the town, was obliged to retire at the approach of Count Mansfeld with a much superior force.

Lady G Bertie, p. 235

Elizabeth had directed Lord Willoughby to solicit the States to allow of the recall of some of her own troops, in order to aid the expedition under Norreys and Drake.

Our next news of Lord Willoughby is gathered from a letter of his to Sir F. Walsingham, dated Middleburgh, December 30th, in which he gratefully acknowledges

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the favours and kindness he had shown towards his children, assuring him of his readiness to serve, or do him honour, in any possible manner. On the 2nd of January, 1588-9, he deputed Sir Thomas Wilford to England, to carry information to Lord Burghley of the humour and condition of the Provinces, and other matters concerning the late campaign; and on the 10th of January he received the Queen's permission to return to England in these words:

Willoughby's letter to Sir F. Walsingham.—Lady G. Bertie, p. 236.

"Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Having been often and earnestly solicited on your behalf, to license you to repair over into this realm, as well for the ordering of certain your own private affairs requiring your presence, as also for the great desire you have to see us after your so long absence, we have been pleased, now that it seemeth the state of our affairs there may in some sort spare your presence for some short time, to yield unto your said request; and do by these our letters signify unto you, that we can be content, that taking such order in your charge there before your coming away, as that no disorder may ensue by your absence, and leaving such direction, as well among the chief officers as the private captains, that they shall continue the execution of their charges with no less care and respect than if you were present among them, you may afterwards use the benefit of this our license for your repair over. And to the end the States may not take any jealous conceit of your absence, or interpret the same otherwise than it is meant, we have thought good by our letters to signify unto them the causes of your coming away; and that we do mean, whensoever any occasion shall fall out that may require your presence there, to return you thither with all convenient speed."

January 10th. Queen Elizabeth's letter to Willoughby giving him leave to return.—Lady G. Bertie, p. 237

On the 28th of February, Willoughby, who had some time before left the Hague, was still detained at Middleburgh by the pressure of business, but willing and hoping to sail for England in a day or two. His arrival in London on the 14th of March is announced by the Queen herself, in a letter to Sir Thomas Bodley, dated from Westminster on the 15th.

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"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Upon the arrival of the Lord Willoughby, our Governor, which was yester night late, we understood that the States had levied and sent an army to besiege Gertrudenburgh, and that the same was compassed secretly, without either a knowledge of him, or of you, our Councillor there, which seemed very strange unto us at the first."

March 15th. The Queen's letter announcing his arrival.—Lady G. Bertie, pp. 252, 253.

His expenses during the whole of the campaign were enormous, and, according to the estimate furnished by his secretary, Morgan Colman, had swallowed up his whole income, "about £2,200 or £2,300 per annum, saving what was allowed to his lady;" he had sold "great store of woods, and all the stock his father left him," amounting to a very large sum; had "pawned his plate, silver vessels, and all his own and his lady's jewels; had mortgaged his land in Norfolk to supply his wants in these wars, and by the same means had run into a debt of at least £4,000." Nor can this be wondered at, when we find it stated, that besides the necessary charges brought upon him by the situation he held, and by the obligation of forwarding intelligence as General, and of travelling in such a country, he also bestowed rewards on the deserving, for the sake of her Majesty's service, and the encouragement of well-doers: from his own purse re-inforced his company of horse to two hundred, which had fallen to sixty, when delivered up to his charge; continued to supply the place of any horse that chanced to be killed, from his own purse; maintained almost entirely a number of Dutch captains and officers received into his cornet; gave or lent sums of money often to relieve her Majesty's

Willoughby's expenses.—Lady G. Bertie, pp. 253 254

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captains and other gentlemen in extremities; raised a company of one hundred horse at his own expense; and at the encounter at Zutphen (especially where his person was so endangered) lost many horses, "for which he was never considered."

For all this, Willoughby only desired to have the allowance awarded by the Council of £1,000 a year, and payment for the victuals and provisions with which he had furnished Berghen before the siege, in order that he might be enabled to defray his debts; adding, that he was most willing to yield his whole revenue, if her Majesty and the country would undertake the just payment of what would still be due; and that if the States could be drawn to allow £2,000 or £3,000 a year, he would resign her Majesty's allowance, "being no way willing, more than necessity compelleth him, to draw her Majesty into extraordinary charge."

His distinguished bravery in this war against the Spaniards, then the objects of particular dislike to England, gained for Lord Willoughby a well-earned and merited applause, and made him the hero of the following popular ballad.

The old ballad of "The Brave Lord Willoughby." – Lady G. Bertie, p. 253.

A true relation of a famous and bloody battle, fought in Flanders by the noble and valiant Lord Willoughby, with fifteen hundred English against forty thousand Spaniards, where the English obtained a notable victory, for the glory and renown of our nation.

To the tune of Lord Willoughby.

The fifteenth day of July,
With pistoring spear and shield,
A famous fight, in Flanders,
Was fought in the field.
The most courageous officers,
Were English captains three:
But the bravest man in battel,
Was brave Lord Willoughby.

The next was Captain Norris,
A valiant man was he;
The other, Captain Turner,
From field would never flee.
With fifteen hundred fighting men,
Alas! there were no more,
They fought with forty thousand then,
Upon this bloody shore.

"Stand to it, noble pikemen,
And look you round about;
And shoot you right, you bowmen,
And we will keep them out.
You musquet and calliver men,
Do you prove true to me,
I'll be the foremost man in fight,"
Says brave Lord Willoughby.

And then the bloody enemy
They fiercely did assail,
And fought it out most furiously,
Not doubting to prevail.
The wounded men on both sides fell,
Most piteous for to see,
Yet nothing could the courage quell
Of brave Lord Willoughby.

For seven hours, to all men's view,
This fight endured sore,
Until our men so feeble grew,
That they could fight no more;
And then upon dead horses,
Full savourly they eat,
And drunk the puddle water,
For no better they could get.

When they had fed so freely,
They kneeled on the ground,
And praised God devoutly,
For the favour they had found;
And bearing up their colours,
The fight they did renew,
And turning towards the Spaniards,
Five thousand more they slew.

The sharp steel-pointed arrows,
And bullets thick did fly;
Then did our valiant souldiers,
Charge on most furiously;
Which made the Spaniards waver,—
They thought it best to flee;
They feared the stout behaviour,
Of brave Lord Willoughby.

Then quoth the Spanish General,
"Come let us march away,
I fear we shall be spoiled all,
If that we longer stay;
For yonder comes Lord Willoughby,
With courage fierce and fell,
He will not give one inch of ground,
For all the devils in hell."

And then the fearful enemy,
Was quickly put to flight;
Our men pursued courageously,
And rout their forces quite.
And at last they gave a shout,
Which echoed through the sky,
God and St. George for England!
The conquerors did cry.

The news was brought to England,
With all the speed might be,
And told unto our gracious Queen,
Of this same victory.
O this is brave Lord Willoughby,
My love hath ever won;
Of all the Lords of honour,
'Tis he great deeds hath done.

For souldiers that were maimed,
And wounded in the fray,
The Queen allowed a pension,
Of eighteen-pence a day;
Besides all costs and charges,
She quit and set them free;
And this she did all for the sake
Of brave Lord Willoughby.

Then courage, noble Englishmen,
And never be dismayed;
If that we be but one to ten,
We will not be afraid
To fight with foreign enemies,
And set our country free,
And thus I end this bloody lout,
Of brave Lord Willoughby.

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My Lord Willoughby was one of the Queen's first sword-men. He was a great master of the art military, and was sent General into France, and commanded the second of five armies that the Queen sent thither in ayd of the French. I have heard it spoken, that had he not slighted the Court, but applyed himselfe to the Queen, he might have enjoyed a plentifull portion of her grace: and it was his saying (and it did him no good) that he was none of the Reptilia, intimating that he could not creepe on the ground, and that the Court was not his element; for indeed, as he was a great souldier, so was he of a suitable magnaninitie, and could not brook the obsequiousnesse and assiduitie of the Court; and as he was then somewhat descending from youth, happily he had an *animam revertendi;* and to make a safe retreat.

Lord Willoughby sent as General to command an Army in France, to aid Henry, King of Navarre.—Sir Robert Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 23.

At last, at Plessis les Tours, the Béarnese, in his shabby old chamois jacket and his well-dinted cuirass, took the silken Henry in his arms, and the two—the hero and the fribble—swearing eternal friendship, proceeded to besiege Paris. A few weeks later, the dagger of Jaques Clément put an end for ever to the line of Valois. Luckless Henry III. slept with his forefathers.

Murder of Henry III., King of France.—Motley, vol. II., p. 550.

The Cardinall therefore of Bourbon is proclaimed King of France, monies are stamped with his image, and the title of Charles the Tenth. The Duke of Mayen is proclaimed Lieutenant Generall of the crowne of France, who forthwith gathering forces from all parts, advanced his mortall ensignes against Navarre, (who being in like manner by his party most justly proclaimed King of France, lay now at Diepe a coast towne of Normandy,) in assured hope either to take him prisoner, or drive him out of France.

The Cardinal of Bourbon proclaimed King.—Camden, p. 386.

Navarre in danger.

The King of Navarre being brought to these straits, encamping with his forces neere to the towne, sent in haste into England, first Monsieur Beavoir la Noecle, and soon after, Buby and Buzenval, to crave aide, and to offer a League as well of offence as defence. The Queene, lest she should faile a King of the same profession, and flourishing in Martiall glory, in his so dangerous estate, and fearing lest his stipendary Germans and Switzers should through corruption revolt, supplyed him presently with twenty-two thousand pounds of English money in gold (a summe of gold coine so great, as he professed he had never seene together before), and sent him armes, and 4000 men under the command of Peregrine Lord Willoughbey, who had with commendation commanded the army in the Low-countries after Leicester was gone. She appointed Collonels, Sir Thomas Wilford, who was made Marshall, Sir John Boroughs, Sir William Drury, and Sir Thomas Baskervill Knights, and readily assigned them a month's pay aforehand. Hereupon the Leaguers, who a little before were beyond all expectation put to flight by the King, in the battell at Arques, now casting away all hope, packed away the day before the English arrived.

The Queen relieves him.—Camden, pp. 386, 387.

These much desired allies, entered the port about the 29th day of September. Their commander was Peregrine, Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, who immediately notified his arrival to the King. The disembarkation was effected the following day; after which King Henry, accompanied by his officers, paid a visit to the Admiral on board the flag-ship. The King was rowed to the ship in a state barge of twelve oars. The chief officers were then presented to Henry and kissed his hand; the most lively curiosity being evinced to behold a prince so heroic, and favoured by their virgin Queen. The King drank Queen Elizabeth's health, which was responded to by a salute of artillery. After many complimentary speeches the King took leave, and was aided from the deck into his barge by the Admiral and Lord Willoughby; to the latter of whom his majesty gave a donation of 500 crowns, to distribute amongst the sailors of the fleet. The vessels, meanwhile, continued to

September 29th. 4000 English allies land at Dieppe.—History of the Reign of Henry IV., King of France. Miss Freer, vol. I., pp. 69, 70.

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salute until the King landed. The weather was boisterous, and the sea so rough that many cavaliers of his majesty's suite became seriously indisposed; especially as several had too freely partaken of the good cheer provided by the Admiral. Before taking leave of the King, the Admiral, whose name is not on record, kneeling, presented Henry with a missive from Queen Elizabeth. The Queen wrote as follows:—

Queen Elizabeth, to Henry IV., King of France and Navarre.

Queen Elizabeth's letter to Henry IV., King of France and Navarre.—Miss Freer, vol. I., pp. 79, 71.

"My very dear Brother:—Could I have divined that your own reinforcements would have made so tardy a junction with your army, I would have shown myself more diligent for the transport of those which I now send you. These troops, truly, might already have done you service, had it been possible to effect their victualling more promptly. Nevertheless, my brother, I doubt not, now that you have them, that these my good soldiers, will prove eager to do you service, as if they were contending for my own life and honour. As for the valiant Baron, my Lieutenant,[1] I dare assert that you will find him a true servant of God, loyal to his Queen, and noble of heart. I have given this worthy Baron strict charge to act as if always in my presence when the opportunity arrives to render you service; and to believe that I personally witness his valour and conduct. Therefore, you may trust this noble gentleman—one discreet as he is valiant. I have, moreover, intimated to him my will that he renders you perfect obedience; also, that neither he, nor the soldiers of his battalion, molest any servant of yours under the pretext of religion; for, my brother, I send them to fight for you, and not to preach.

"I pray you, count upon me as one who deems herself happy to serve you in your need; for God is witness, that daily I supplicate Him to grant you victory over your foes.

"From your very trusty sister and cousin,

"ELIZABETH."

October 2nd.
Lord Willoughby's letter to Queen Elizabeth.—Rymer's Foedera, vol XVI., p 26.

"Most gratious Souveraigne,

"Your especiall favours to my selfe, and to this cause wherein I serve yow, did hasten me, as your Majesty commanded, that your charge already expended in England might receyve in Fraunce the thanks and honor which your Majesty had right in. The King, being advertised by me, on Sonday, of your gratious Pleasoure, Advise, hountifull Succours, and Care of his Estate, promised on Monday to dispache his own thankes. On Twesday, going hence with some 200 horses, he joigned with the Duke Longueville neare to Gammache; from whence he sent word yesterday that he would seeke all meanes to encounter his enemy; who yet helde together, eyther to joigne with la Mot and the Duke of Parma his forces, or ells for some attempt upon the King. Hereupon Mareschal Byron, quartering us at Appeville and other villages neere hereby, is this day gone to find the King about foure leagues hence; appointing us to be immediatly ready for such further March as the King shall direct before night. If th' enemy will abide it, we are like to assaile them forthwith; the Victory (next after him that governes the Heavens), the King will attribute to your Majesty, whom above all others on earth he confesseth to owe most unto;

"Thus, most humbly craving your Majesty's Pardon, I leave, with shame of my rude and hastie Writing, but with all the Duety a poore Wretche may owe unto so excellent a Souveraigne. From Diepe this second of October, 1589.

"Your most Excellent Majesty's most humble Subject and Servant,

"PEREGRIN WYLLUGHBY."

Lady O. Bertie, p. 258.

Henry of Navarre did not lose time or opportunity, but marched at once on Paris. It

(1) Peregrine, Lord Willoughby d'Eresby.

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was determined that the English should enter the trenches of St. Marckan, and the French those of St. Jermain; and on the morning after this resolution it was carried into effect, with great bravery on both sides. Even the French, loth to praise the courage of others, did Willoughby's troops the justice to approve of their actions, while they also extolled the vigilance of their commanders. Theirs was the hardest task, but their valour broke through its obstacles; they seized the enemy's ensigns, and with little loss made themselves masters of a part of "the town." It is believed that Paris was then the King's, if he had followed Lord Willoughby's advice, and brought his artillery to support his advantage. The English advanced as far as "St. Victor's Gate," and were on the point of entering, when the King sounded a retreat, and broke up the siege.

Siege of Paris.—Lady G. Bertie, pp. 269-271.

Henry withdrew his army, and then marched to Estampes, to regain that place and its castle; meanwhile the King addressed the following expressions of gratitude to Elizabeth, and acknowledgments of the services rendered by her subjects:

"Madam,

"The great share your majesty has in our war, by the seasonable assistance you have given us, together with the obligations I am under to you, for the care and good-will you have shewn for my interests, makes it highly reasonable you should be acquainted with what passes here: I have therefore thought proper, after the success of the alarm and consternation which I carried to Paris, of which I had almost made myself master, to order the lord Beauvoir, as I do at present, to impart everything to you.

Henry IV. King of France's letter to Queen Elizabeth.—Jacob's Peerage, vol. I., pp. 326, 327.

"You may, madam, be entirely satisfied, that I have been so effectually served by your troops, and have had such convincing proofs of the good conduct and courage of the lord Willoughby, who is worthily seconded by all the other gentlemen, your subjects here, that they more and more do honour to your judgment in your choice of them, and encrease the obligations I lie under already to your majesty. All I can add further, and I do it with great good-will, is to declare, that I think myself bound to be more yours than my own; nor can my affection receive any addition to what I have long felt; all I am, and all I can do is, without reserve, yours; therefore most humbly kissing your hands, I beg that you will believe, that I shall ever be more yours than my own.

"HENRY."

"Postscript. I assuredly expect the continuance of your good-will, especially in my necessities."

After winning Estampes, the King, with his army, marched to Joinville, and demanded entrance. It was refused, till he brought his cannon to enforce it; when, on condition that life and liberty should be spared them, the besieged yielded to their sovereign. "From thence," says Willoughby's Journal, "the King marched to Chateau Dun; and on Thursday, the 6th of November, came before Vendosme:" and the same night, about eight of the clock, our regiments came thither. About ten of the clock that evening, we entered, by surprise and scalado, the fauxbourgs of St. George, with Mons. Daumont, and possessed the same, with slaughter of thirty or forty of the enemy.

Estampes yielded.—Lady G. Bertie, p. 273.

Siege of Vendosme.—(Willoughby's Journal).

The next day the King summoned the town and castle by trumpet, which after some parley, refused to yield. Our men made their approach, and were entrenched within pistol-shot of the castle. On Saturday the King viewed the grounds of advantage and planted his artillery, viz: five cannons to batter the castle on the side towards Temple, and two culverins in another place, flanking the same battery within the castle. All that night the King lay in the field; and the next morning, about sun-rising, began

to batter. After some breach made, the enemy sounded a trumpet for a parley, but it was not hearkened unto. By noon, two breaches being made, the castle was entered by the French, and the town, in the meantime, by the English. "All that day and night the town was spoiled, the governor beheaded, and a seditious friar hanged!"

"Monday the King bestowed in ordering and pollicing the town and castle."

"12th of November, 1589. After the winning of the city of Vendosme, the town of Le Verdin was immediately rendered to the King.

November 17. Siege of Le Mans.—(Willoughby's Journal).—Lady G. Bertie, pp. 251-253.

"The King, marching thence towards the city of Le Mans, came to Chasteau de Loyr, which was rendered unto him, and thence he came before Le Mans, November 17th.

"On the 18th of November, the suburbs of St. Vincent were attempted by the King's forces, being not above two hundred, and the enemy being at least six hundred, driven thence with slaughter of four of their captains, and about thirty soldiers; which charge was so well performed, as they were ready, pell-mell, to have entered the town, if they had been well seconded.

"19th November. The English regiments were appointed to give upon the other side, and this afternoon passed the river, many of them being carried over on horseback, behind the gentlemen that attended the King, and some behind the King himself.

"After they were passed the river, some of the English, conducted by the General, with some French *harquebusiers* of Mons. Trimville, being accompanied with Mons. Chastillon, entered the fauxbourg of Le Pre; and Sir Thomas Wilford, in the meantime, with some other of the English, entered the fauxbourg of St. John, and dwelled there.

"The same evening other inward fauxbourgs, with a post well fortified, (between the Abbey of Le Pre and the fauxbourg taken in by Sir Thomas Wilford,) were attempted and taken in by the General and Mons. de Gintry, with some English; and the enemy being driven from thence, fired the houses.

"20th November. This day was bestowed in barricading the places won, and viewing places of most advantage, and fittest for approach.

"21st November. The King planted his artillery to batter, and the Lord General of the English made float-bridges with tonnes and lathers to pass the river to the town wall, and to attempt it by scalado. And this evening took in mills standing upon the river, near the town wall, which the enemy held and dwelled upon them.

"22nd November. This morning the King began to batter with eight pieces, planted in three places, within one hundred and fifty paces of the wall. After eight hundred shot, and but small breach made, the French King being ready in arms to the assault, and the English on the other side to attempt the scalado, they of the town demanded parley; whereunto the King was more willing to hearken, for that he had not above four hundred shot more.

"There were in the town above two thousand soldiers, of whom there were noblemen and gentlemen one hundred and twenty.

"The points of the composition were, that the noblemen and gentlemen should depart with their horses, arms, bag and baggage; that the soldiers should depart with their arms, bag and baggage, their matches out, and their drums and ensigns left behind them; that the King should have paid unto him five hundred thousand crowns, besides the taxes of houses.

"They of the town spared not to give out that they would never have offered any composition, if they had not feared more some attempts of the English behind them, than the assault of the French at the breach.

"After that Le Mans was thus taken in, the towns of La Sablé and La Val (whither the King proposed to go) rendered themselves; and since then also is rendered the government of young Lausac.

"From thence we marched towards Alençon, and our English regiments lodged in the fauxbourgs, December 3rd.

December 3rd. Siege of Alençon.—(Willoughby's Journal).—Lady G. Bertie, pp. 284, 285.

"On Thursday, December 4th, at night, a strong ravolin, between the fauxbourgs and the town port, was won by the English, which, as well by those of the town as those on the King's part, (witnessed by Marshal Biron's letters,) was thought impregnable, there running by it a deep river, with a very swift current, and crusted about with a strong freestone wall, and not any way accessible, but by pulling down a draw-bridge over the said river.

"The place was of such strength, as that there being some faction between Petimnes, who commanded the town, and the governor of the castle; Petimnes made reckoning of this for his last retreat to parlément with the King.

"In this enterprise Sir Thomas Wilford was a chief actor; and the engine wherewith the bridge was drawn down, was put on by Captain Lea, with some sailors appointed to him for that purpose.

"The first that entered were Sir Thomas Wilford, Sir Thomas Baskerville, Captain Hemming, Captain Mosten, Mr. Christopher Heydon, with divers other captains and gentlemen. There were found upon the place about thirty-five of the enemy, which were all put to the sword.

"In this service Mr. Pelham was shot, near to the Lord General, who, with divers other gentlemen, was ready to second the rest; and Captain Helmbridge was shot through one of his legs. Before this town also Captain Swan was shot through the body, and Mr. Gunstone, who is since dead.

"The same night the French attempted the walls on the other side by scalado, but were driven to retreat, and lost their lathers (ladders).

"Immediately after the taking of this place, the town was rendered; and it is thought that the castle will compound also."

On the 4th of December, the French Ambassadors, Monsieur de Beauvon and Monsieur du Fresne, forwarded the following offer to the Queen of England, of which the original is still extant:—

December 4th. Offer by the French King's Ambassadors to Queen Elizabeth.—Lady G. Bertie, p. 287.

"The Ambassadors, in debating upon the matter what assurance they would give in case her Majesty should be pleased to yield to the continuance of her subjects in the King's service, in the realm of France, declared that although they had no commission to give any assurance in that behalf, yet they would take upon them (knowing the inconveniences that might follow, in case the English troops should be revoked) to pay one month's pay that is now passed, (deducting the allowance received from the King,) and to move his Majesty, that in case he shall not be able to satisfy them for the time to come after the second month, whereby they may grow discontented, then to dismiss them; which offer, if it should please her Majesty in her goodness to accept of, they would then with all expedition advertise the King thereof; and, in the meantime, do beseech her Majesty, that she will order for the Lord Willoughby's stay."

Elizabeth seems to have been enchanted with the news that reached her of the gallant bearing of her subjects in France; and on the 6th of December she despatched to Lord Willoughby the following letter:—

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December 6th. Queen Elizabeth's letter to Lord Willoughby; the preamble is in the Queen's own hand.—Lady G. Bertie, pp 289-290.

"By the Queen.

"My good Peregrine,—I bless God that your old prosperous success followeth your valiant acts; and joy not a little that safety accompanieth your luck.

"Your loving Sovereign,

"ELIZABETH R.

"Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Albeit your abode and of our troops in that realm hath been longer than was first required, and by us meant; whereof, as it seemeth, your yielding to divers services there hath been partly a cause, contrary to our expectation, to the King's purpose at the first declared, and to your own writing also hither, whose advertisements moved us to give order for certain of our ships to be sent for the safe conducting of you and of our subjects with you; yet now perceiving the great contentment and satisfaction the King, our good brother, hath received by your good service, and of our companies under your charge; whereby also such as heretofore might have conceived an opinion, either of our weakness, or of the decay or want of courage, or other defects of our English nation, may see themselves much deceived, in that the contrary hath now well appeared in that country by so small a troop as is with you, to the great honour and reputation of us and our whole nation, and to the disappointing and daunting (as we hope) of our enemies. We have, upon request of our said good brother the King, declared by his ambassador here, accorded unto them, and hereby we signify unto you, that we are pleased you shall continue your abode there, with the numbers under you, for this month longer, hoping the King will then be content to dismiss you with liberty, and his good favour, to return into this our realm, in case he shall not be able to keep them in pay, and satisfy them for any longer time; and that in the meantime he will be careful for the well-using of you and them, so as you may neither want pay, nor suffer otherwise too many wants. And for that it is to our no small comfort to perceive the forward endeavours and valour, both of yourself and those under you, we are pleased not only to let you understand the same by these our own letters, with our thankful acceptation to yourself in particular; but also we will and require you to signify so much, both to the whole company of soldiers there, and to such captains and gentlemen particularly, as you shall think most worthy thereof; who we trust will show the continuance of their valiant and willing minds, rather more than less, knowing the same shall be an increase of our comfort, of the honour of the whole realm and nation, and to their own more reputation.

"You shall also say unto the King, that although we might have cause in respect of the wants which we heard our men endured in sundry ways, to be unwilling that they should remain there any longer time; yet, when we understood that he hoped to do himself the more good by the use of them, than otherwise he might perhaps look for, wanting them; we were, we know not how, overcome and enchanted to yield thereunto.

"Given under our signet at Richmond, the 6th day of December, 1589, in the thirty-second year of our reign."

Alençon surrendered.—(Mr. Fludd's account).—Lady O. Bertie, pp. 294—303, 304

Here, where Willoughby's journal closes, Mr. Fludd takes up the relation of the incidents of the war. He goes on to narrate that on the 11th of December the cannons were placed at night against the castle of Alençon; on Saturday, the 13th, they played.

"On the said Saturday the King came to Alençon, and again summoned the castle; whereupon they desired a parley, which was granted; and upon the morrow after, the same castle, by composition, was yielded unto the King.

"Upon Sunday, the 14th, we marched from the said fobertes of Alençon, through the town, to this village towards Cane, called Rosmaville, six miles."

On Wednesday, the 17th, from Rosmaville to Tamville, where they rested till Friday, and then proceeded to St. Martin-du-champ, near to Argenton; "But before our coming there," he continues, "the town and castle were yielded unto the King, and therefore were we directed to march further towards Falaise, to a village called Lucye, in all fourteen miles, leaving by the long march many of our men and carriages behind us, and there rested the Saturday.

"Upon Sunday, the 21st, from thence to Montgaron, two miles.

"Upon Monday, the 22nd, from thence to the suburbs of Faliza, eight miles; and so presently from thence the same day to a village called Melavillo, four miles, in all twelve miles; where now we be, being twelve miles from Cane."

December 22nd. Siege of Falaise. — (Mr. Fludd's letter to Lord Burghley). — Lady O. Bertie, pp. 304,307-309.

Our next source of information is a letter of Mr. Fludd's to Lord Burghley, which relates some previous occurrences, and comes in most opportunely to complete the narrative of the siege of Falaise, where he, as well as Willoughby, was present, and where they took their leave of the King and his victorious army; making their last personal exertions in his favour, although their troops were at some distance, on the eve of embarkation.

"Upon Thursday, the 25th, being our Christmas-day, we marched from Melavilla, from whence I last wrote unto your Lordships, clean backward towards the south-east, to a village called Pont St. Croye, four miles.

"Note, that the cannon played still against the castle of Faliza, the said Christmas-even, Christmas-day, and more continually St. Stephen's-day, being planted in three several places, until about one of the clock in the afternoon, (the St. Stephen's-day,) two breaches being made (viz.: the one in a tower, the other in the main wall,) the French drew to the assault; where, after a few shot in their time of approach towards the wall, they entered at the said breaches without any resistance; and so the great brags which before they had made for the keeping of it came to nothing.

"The opinion of those of skill in our troops was, that if but twenty good soldiers indeed had been within it, (as there were many bad,) that they could never have won it by those breaches, being truly so small and ill to get into, that they were driven by one and one to climb up a wall, to one of the breaches, of six or seven feet high, and to creep in at a narrow door in the other; to defend both the which, no doubt one good man within had been worth a hundred without. But so it was with them, that they run away at the first, in such sort, that the French so entering, they went along the wall to the town-gate without resistance, and opened the same, and let in their fellows. In the time of their battery in the said tower, battered a good distance above the breach, notwithstanding the beating and shaking of the cannons, a soldier did continually play out at a loop-hole with a musket upon us, until at the last, upon the shot of five cannons together, the whole side of the tower fell down, and he the said soldier withal, who, amongst the stones, tumbled out into the castle ditch, and there was taken alive, and carried unto the King, who sent him to prison; at which service my Lord General, with myself, and many other of our English gentlemen (as waiting upon the King) were present; but our troops were seven miles off, and not called unto it.

"The Count Brissac took him to *pece* of the castle, which he held until the morrow morning, and then yielded himself to the mercy of the King; and it is thought that the

King will pardon his life. The 29th of this December, my Lord General and myself came to Caen, to provide shipping for the sick men, which we find many, and the shipping very scant, and wonderful chargeable. The troops do march after; and, as I think, will this night be at Dyve, a town upon the sea, ten miles from hence, towards Newhaven, where it is appointed we shall remain until we may be embarked; and so now our whole stay is for shipping and wafters, a thing also needful, for those of Newhaven, and other enemies' towns, do here much harm.

"I shall not, if it may please your Lordship, have money enough now to make up the full pay for her Majesty's time, and to pay for transportation: your Lordship's direction therefore I desire.

"The King, perceiving our troops to be become weak, hath licensed us to depart; but since my last writing we have not received anything, but once a little bread.

"The King's army are now about Lyseures, to besiege the same, and it is thought it will either yield, or will not long hold out; for since the winning of Faliza, the town of Domfrout is yielded to the King; and so I think the most of the small towns will do. So I beseech the Almighty to keep and bless your Lordship. From Caue, the last of December, 1589.

"Your Lordship's ever to command,

"THOS. FLUDD."

1590. January 15th. The King's farewell to his English Allies.—Lady. G. Bertie, p. 309.

Thus closed the winter of 1589. On the 15th of January following, we find Willoughby with the King before Honfleur, which also fell into the hands of the latter; and Henry having commenced the year 1590 as gloriously as he closed the preceding one of 1589, dismissed his English allies with high, and certainly well-deserved, commendations, bestowing upon the General (Willoughby) a diamond ring, as a token of his regard.

It is said that Henry afterwards regretted their departure, and more especially when he learnt that the King of Spain entertained a secret design on the crown of France. But their numbers had been greatly thinned; sufferings, sickness, and privation had laid many in the grave; and Sir William Drury, who had gained a reputation for valour and accomplishments, threw away the precious gifts bestowed upon him, and lost his life in a duel, prompted by vanity, on a trifling quarrel for precedency (or, as he terms it, a just quarrel) with Sir John Burgh.

Willoughby's return to England.—Lady G. Bertie, pp. 311, 312.

This affair was resented by Elizabeth, not only towards Sir John Burgh, but also towards Lord Willoughby, who would probably have been unable to prevent it, supposing he had possessed the inclination. She was displeased that it was not taken up, and brought before the French King, who excused himself to her by the plea of ignorance on the subject; and she appears to have deferred the reception of Willoughby into her presence for a few days after his return from that brilliant campaign, which had been as successful to the arms of her ally, as glorious to her own. However, she appointed the 21st of January for giving him audience at Lambeth.

The condition of Willoughby's private fortune and estate had not been improved by his labours in the Queen's service; nor could he for some time obtain a hearing or an adjustment of such pecuniary matters as was needful for his own satisfaction, and the final arrangement of the account between him and his sovereign. Ill health and pecuniary difficulties, which the necessities of the late campaign had brought upon him, (necessities provided for from his own private purse,) induced him to adopt the resolution of repairing

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to Germany for a time; but before he took this step, he addressed, in the month of June, the following letter to Lord Burghley:—

June 16th. Lord Willoughby's letter to Lord Burghley.—Lady G. Bertie, pp. 313, 314.

"My most honourable good Lord,—Having this night been very ill, and unfit to wait upon you, I thought by these to move your Lordship, that now at last I may have an orderly hearing of my accounts, when the muster-master, and such as can charge me, may be present; and though I be the first of my place that in foreign wars was ever checked, and Sir John Norries paid and bared, yet, that even in that check I may have but that justice which the poorest captain hath, which is that I may be present, and the reasons shown by the books. This done, and all stinging exceptions cleared, I will leave wholly to her Majesty, and next to your Lordship, my cause to be proceeded in as you please, humbly beseeching it may be heard some day this week; for I am purposed to go into the country to settle my state, (having long attended a conclusion), finding I must take some new course to satisfy my creditors' expectation, hitherto fed with this hope of my account, or else I shall be sure to ruin me and mine. And before I would enter into it, or acquaint her Majesty therewith, my love and duty to you makes me presume to impart it. I have purposed to the payment of my debts to appoint the best part of my land; towards the maintenance of my wife, children, and family annuities, reparation of houses, and such like, one other part; and, lastly, a little bare portion to maintain myself privately in Germany, if it may be with her Majesty's leave, having chosen this as the only means not to be chargeable to her Majesty, and helpful to restore my state, and satisfy the world from those in England, that seeing my state subject to law by reason, and to loss by my folly, for having made myself an unprofitable soldier, might else contemn and scorn my life and time spent. And thus craving pardon to have troubled your Lordship, I humbly take my leave. From my chamber, this XVth day of June, 1590.

"Your Lordship's most humble,

"P. WILLUGHBY."

October 20th. Henry IV. King of France's letter to Lord Willoughby —Lady G. Bertie, p. 629.

"A Monsieur de Wiliby.

"Monsieur de Wiliby,—Vous m' avez tesmoigné trop d' affection et bonne volonté en mon endroit, et scay que vous la faistes encores tous les jours trop paroistre, por estre oublier de ma part, ce que aussy n'adviendra jamais. En attendant que je vous en puisse donner quelque preuve de plus de contentement. Je ne veulx au moings laisser une occasion qui se presentoit de vous tesmoigner, la souvenance que j'en ay qui est belle; et l'estime que je fais de votre Vertu et Valeur que j'ay desiré avec ceste occasion du voyage que mon Cousin le Vicomte de Turenne va presentement faire vers la Royne Madame ma bonne Seur. Que par sa bouche l'assurance que je vous en ay cydevent donner, vous soit encore rafraischir et confirmer, ce que je vous pric croire que Jauray encore plus grand plaisir de pouvoir faire par quelque bon effect. Cependant je pric (Dieu) Monsieur de Wiliby vous avoir en sa saincte et Digne garde. Au Camp de Gisors le XXme jour de Octobre, 1590.

"HENRY."

Endorsed:—

"Le Roy de France at Monsieur. Received at Grimsthorpe 21st Novembre, 1590, au soir.

"P. HELY."

November 25th. Lord Willoughby's letter to Henry IV. King of France —Lady G. Bertie, pp. 629, 630.

"Sire,—Je ne puis dire combien me rejouissoient vos lettres gratieux et favorables lesquelles me trouverent à ma maison au pays saisi d'un si grand maladie que je pensois mourir, et ce me fût taut plus griefue que je ne pouvais attendre Monsieur de Thurenne pour recevoir

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vos commandemens, et les très desireux nouvelles de Vre Maté. Lequel me daigne plus que je puis meriter, indigne de la moindre parté des souvenances et grâces que Vre Maté. me fait . . . . . Je me retire, Dieu louant pour cette heure comme le plus grand de ma vie, quand je suis venu a votre service: de . . . le prier aussi de me continuer cette grâce d'être toujours de vos soldats, neanmoins que je me confesse le plus indigne: et que je puis avoir tant de bonheur que de vivre et mourir pour la service de votre Maté. Lequel il semble avoir elu parmi tous les princes du monde pour le Gideon de sa cause. Quand Dieu et ma maitresse permettront, je puis sincerement dire, que votre Majesté me trouvera toujours en tout humilité, obéissance, et fidelité, entre les plus prêts a vous servir quand à la volonté. Ce désirant plutot le signaler que d'en parler or je prie Dieu.

"Sire,

"Apres vous avoir baisé tres humblement les mains, de vous donner une très heureuse très longue et très victorieuse vie."

Lord Willoughby to the French King, 25 Nov. 1590.

1594. October 7th. Queen Elizabeth's letter to Lord Willoughby.—Fuller's Worthies, vol. II., pp. 282, 283.

Here I will insert a letter of Queen Elizabeth, written to him with her own hand; and, reader, deal in matters of this nature as when venison is set before thee—eat the one, and read the other; never asking whence either came, though I profess I came honestly by a copy thereof, from the original:

"Good Peregrine, we are not a little glad that by your journey you have received such good fruit of amendment; speedily when we consider how great vexation it is to a minde devoted to actions of honour, to be restrained, by any indisposition of body, from following those courses, which, to your own reputation and to our great satisfaction, you have formerly performed; and, therefore, as we must now (out of our desire of your well doing) chiefly enjoyne you to an especial care to increase and continue your health, which must give life to all your best endeavours; so we must next as seriously recommend to you this consideration; that in these times, when there is such appearance that we shall have the trial of our best and noble subjects, you seem not to affect the satisfaction of your own private conveniency, beyond the attending on that which nature and duty challengeth from all persons of your quality and profession. For if necessarily (your health of body being recovered) you should eloigne yourself by residence there from those employments, whereof we shall have too good store; you shall not so much amend the state of your body, as happily you shall call in question the reputation of your mind and judgment, even in the opinion of those that love you, and are best acquainted with your disposition and discretion.

"Interpret this our plainness, we pray you, to our extraordinary estimation of you; for it is not common with us to deal so freely with many; and believe that you shall ever find us both ready and willing on all occasions to yield you the fruits of that interest, which your endeavours have purchased for you in our opinion and estimation. Nor doubting but when you have with moderation made tryal of the success of these your sundry peregrinations, you will find as great comfort to spend your dayes at home, as heretofore you have done; of which we do wish you full measure, howsoever you shall have cause of abode or return. Given under our signet, at our manor of Nonsuch, the seventh of October, 1594, in the 37th year of our reign.

"Your most loving Soveraign,

"E. R."

It appears by the premises, that it was written to this lord when he was at the Spa in Lukeland, for the recovery of his health, at a time when a second English invasion of the Spaniard was (I will not say feared, but) expected.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. 1595.

Dr. Hawkins, whose chief residence was at Venice, wrote from thence to Mr. Bacon on the 12th of January, 1595, that the Spaniard was daily more and more fixed in Italy, the blame of which was particularly laid upon England, both for letting his fleet pass the last year, and for abandoning France to all extremities. He mentions likewise, that there were at that time in Venice, the Lord Willoughby of Eresby and Lord Grey, and Mr. Thomas Sackville, come out of Germany, with divers other English gentlemen.

January 12th. Dr. Hawkin's letter to Mr Bacon.—Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, vol. I., p. 377.

Dr. Hawkins adds at the close of a letter dated 24th February, that Lord Willoughby of Eresby, who had been long sick at Padua, was now well recovered, and would return shortly towards England; that Lord Grey was gone to Vienna, and the Earl of Rutland not yet passed the Alps.

February 24th. Dr. Hawkin's letter to Lord Essex.—Ibid., vol. I., p. 428.

Lord Willoughby of Eresby left Venice on the last of February, and on the second day of his journey relapsed into his former sickness at Conelian, fifteen miles from Treviso, where he lay extremely ill eight days, almost to death; but being recovered a little, he pursued his journey towards Vienna.

Peregrine Lord Willoughby of Eresby, who had a particular friendship with the Earl of Essex, being now at Venice, whither he had passed through Germany, wrote from thence to the Earl a letter on the 26th of November, 1595; in which he took notice, that the only letter which he had received from the Earl, was written in June preceding, and came to his hands in Nuremberg, to which he had sent an answer by his servant Vaughan; and that, being now in his winter garrison at Venice, at leisure to remember those duties, which he lived but to observe to his prince and honourable friends, he would not omit to mention them, such as they were, to his lordship, whom, next to the highest at home, he esteemed before all others; "Knowing now," says he, "by experience, my wants by your virtues hidden, and the little good that is in me, by your kindness multiplied. I confess unto your lordship simply, I am not here void of passion for my country's sake, to hear the designs of the children of Belial against God's anointed; the whole house of Austria in all places employed, getting pride and reputation but of small victories, which, notwithstanding, in common opinion, prevail but too much. And, God forgive me, I heartily wish the Turk may give some blow to counterpoise their fortunes; and for that I wish him less effeminate, and better provided of all victuals for his army, than, I fear, thro' the great dearth in those countries, he is like to have." He then observes that the Polonian, the Transylvanian, and sundry princes, were treating strait correspondency; and though the Italians being distasted, and the Germans weary, should not the year ensuing stir much, nor give any succours, yet these countries being full of soldiers on horseback (if the league should go forward), would frame, no doubt, a sufficient front against the Turks with those princes of Austria; for the Venetian state being jealous of them of Austria, flattering with France, faithful to none, careful of their pleasure and profits, though they armed, had more hopes in the effects of their ambassador sent to Constantinople, than their forces, and delighted, as standers-by, to see the losses of others, in which themselves had no part; not without some emulation of our state, being envious at our merchants trading in Levant seas and bringing commodities from Syria and Turkey, one of the most special and beneficial branches of the traffic of Venice. There had lately been with that state the Duke of Arschot, who dined at the Spanish ambassador's, near Lord Willoughby's lodging, on the Monday sennight before. Some thought that the Duke's journey was to congratulate the cardinal's coming into Austria, and to prepossess him with regard to the difference between himself and the Count de Fuentes. But his Lordship supposed that too slight a ground for so great a person's long voyage.

November 26th. Lord Willoughby's letter to Lord Essex.—Ibid., vol. I., p. 322.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. 1596.

August 28th. Lord Willoughby's letter to Lord Essex.—Lady G. Bertie, pp. 317-319.

"My very good Lord,—I have written sundry letters unto your Lordship out of Italy, and the while I had health and strength to do it, but I fear some of them came (not) to your hand . . . .

"I have been here at Sterade this sixteen weeks, wind-bound, and many times driven back from sea, not without some dangers, the French ships of our consort being cast away; and here we are like to lie, God knows how long. Wherefore I beseech your Lordship, in the meanwhile, that now in this time when other means faileth me, and the only occasion is offered to recompense my former time and services, your Lordship would perform for me those honourable and loving parts, which it hath pleased you by your word and letters to assure me of, and whereon I have with all hope and confidence, specially builded. My suit is not great nor new; I mean the government of Berwick, which her Majesty must bestow on one; and whether I be as sufficient as another for that charge, I refer to you, the (most) competent judge we have in martial causes, of any that serve her Majesty and State. It is not unknown unto your Lordship what sums of money I should receive, disbursed by me; beside, a great deal more was put to account, which in my conceit should further me at least to a good turn before another that hath not done so much, especially as it may come with such ease from her Majesty. If your Lordship now then cannot prevail, I shall a thousand times wish water to have buried my bones in *Cadis Malis*[1] under your Lordship, than to return home unto England so ill-regarded; and so commending it, which, since I knew you, hath been and ever shall be most devoted unto you, I humbly take my leave from aboard ship, having been there this month, and mended, which putteth me in good hope I shall be able yet once again to wait on you some honourable voyage of (your Lordship), &c., &c."

September 11th. Mr. Bacon's letter to Dr. Hawkins.—Birch, vol. II., p. 137.

September 11th, Mr. Bacon complained in a letter to Dr. Hawkins that his packets of late had come very tardy to his hands . . . He then mentions that the Earl of Shrewsbury was to depart that day with the Garter to the French King; that the Marshal De Biron had defeated 900 Spaniards, and taken the Cardinal's lieutenant and two counts prisoners in Artois: that the state of Ireland was said to be more dangerous than ever: and that the Lord Willoughby of Eresby was at last arrived at Alborough in Suffolk, and would be welcomed with the government of Berwick, as Mr. Bacon hoped, who intended to write to his Lordship the next day.

1599. June 14th. James VI. King of Scotland's letter to Lord Willoughby, Lord Governor of Berwick.—Lady G. Bertie, pp. 340, 341.

"Trusty and well-belovit Cousing,—We greet you hartlie well. Having considerit the indignitie done to Ws, be taking away violentlie out of the hart of our country, and in sight of our chief palais and eyes of our counsale, ane Inglis gentleman callit Ashfield, being under our protectioun, and recommendit by your letter to ane of our Privie Counsale, without any interpellatioun maid to Ws for his delyvery in cace he had bene ane offendour, and how the same is done be some of your speciall friendis and servandis: We cannot marvel aneuch thairof, seeing we hopit at your handis als great respect to our honour as at any subjectis of England of your rank, specialie sence your experience in Princis service, within and without your countray, has techit yow sufficientlie quhat apertenis to the honour of a Prince. And gif sa be that by any warrand from your Soverane the same have been attempted, We requyre friendly to be acquented thairwith; or gif upoun any particuler offense done to yow be the said Ashfield, you have upoun ane suddane passioun interessed Ws sa heichlie in honour, We crave the same by restitutioun of him, to be speddelie reparit. Willing alwayis you to wey how farre sic ane attempt twiches Ws, our honour and estate; and as none ellis of your ranke can better juge of

(1) An allusion to the late expedition to Cadiz, under Lord Essex. The shore before Cadiz was called Cadis Malis.

that poinct of honour, and of nane of your ranke we rest more assured of that lauchfull dewty quhilk apertenis, We expect with this bearer sic satisfatioun as will repaire our honour, and relieve you of that suspicioun of misregard of your dewty towards Ws, quhairin we cannot well beleve that ye will fayle, willing yow alwayis to assure yow that it is a mater, quhilk without spedie reparation we will nocht pass over. And sa resting to your answer, we comit you to the Almichty. From Leeth, this 14th of June, 1599.

"(Signed) Your loving freinde,

"JAMES R.

"To our trusty and well-belovit Cousing, the Lord Willoughbie, Lord Governor of Berwick."

June 15th.
Lord Willoughby's reply to James VI., King of Scotland.—Lady G. Bertie, p. 311.

"Most mighty, most renowned, and most excellent King,—I am charged with a grievous indignity done to your Majesty, by the violent taking away an English subject, licensed by me to go into Scotland, and (as it is said) under your Majesty's protection; that likewise he had a letter of mine to one of your Privy Council in his commendations. To each of these points, with your Majesty's pardon, I answer truly and faithfully this. My intendment is free from the first, my devoir and duty bound me to the other, besides the overture that his frank acknowledgment of no protection from your Majesty gave me, which he is ready to avow. For writing to any councillor of your Majesty's in his behalf, I neither remember nor acknowledge it, but assure myself it is merely mistaken. I hope your Majesty is persuaded there must be an informer and an accuser of Ashfield's proceedings, before I can take notice thereof, which I am bound to do as a public officer, wherein the value and credit of the person is to be taken hold of by me, as a subject and a servant to her Majesty. I speak not concerning any, but only to point out the truth, since many times it pleaseth such great princes as both your Majesties to make known their pleasures, according to the dependencies of the necessary services, good or evil, unto their avail, by such under ministers as they think well of, with virtue and power, like themselves. Likewise, your Majesty may please to consider, that having here a public charge from her Majesty, it is concluded in the same, I should in private and particular occasions serve her no less than in the general; and it would be imputed unto me for a great negligence and want, if I should be found slack in the performance of any particularity, as might concern her Majesty's service in these parts, being called to account. Where it is alleged he came in with my license, it is true; so much the more it concerns me. He behaved himself well by my leave; he gave his hand and word to return within three days; promised after, very shortly to come; writ me, lastly, he would presently make his repair; according to all these I sent, not violently, (as is enforced,) but quietly; neither with armour, arms, nor ambushments, nor stirring, nor emotion in your Majesty's estate, nor discontentment to the party, who acknowledgeth himself, before, then, and since, very willing to come. These things, I hope, being made known to your Majesty, (as I appeal from you ill-informed, to yourself well-informed,) will fully settle your judgment, that nothing is further from me, than willingly to prejudice your highness. But if intrusion be tolerated, in hostile manner, in England, for a cow or a silly beast, or for recovery of a lewd fugitive, how much more may it please your Majesty to moderate your censure of this, being done quietly and peaceably, since it imports the honour, credit, and reputation of myself and my service to them in deed I am in true duty bound! Lastly, whereas your Majesty desires to be resolved, whether it be done by her Majesty's warrant or no; I truly answer, that it was not by any private advice now presently given me by her Majesty, but by my public charge; according to which I

QUEEN ELIZABETH. 1599.

humbly desire your Majesty to excuse me if I return him not, without her Majesty's further pleasure known, which then I shall be very ready and willing to do, in all other services which do not concern her Majesty and her occasions; for which I postpone all perils that are under the sun, or above the earth. And so with all humbleness becoming me, I leave your Majesty to the protection of the great God the Disposer of all princes' hearts.

"Berwick, this 15th of June, '99.

"Lord Willoughby to the King of Scots."

Lord Willoughby's Will, dated Berwick, August 7th.—Collins' Peerage, vol III., part II., p. 502. (Original Edition.)

He bequeaths to Edward, Lord Zouch, Robert, Lord Rich, Sir Drew Drury, and Sir John Peyton, of Beaupre Hall, Knts.; his manors of Grimsthorp, with the park, &c., Toynton, and the park Stickford, Allford, with the royalties thereof, lately bought of Mr. Hanby. The manor of Well, the manor of Eresby, with the east park and west park, the manor of Spilsby and Skidbroke, with Saltfleet haven, Friskney, certain lands in Earebie, Hundleby, and Rathebie; the lastage of Skirbecks, two parks of the demesne lands of Valdye, also Vandye, with the woods, warren of conies, and certain lands enclosed; the new park of Grimsthorp, with diverse other lands adjacent. The third part of his great mansion house, called Willoughby House, in Barbican, and all his other lands, &c., not before devised. To hold during the minority of his son and heir, Robert Bertie, and on his decease without issue, during the minority of his other sons . . . .

And for a small remembrance of his loyalty and duty which he had always observed towards her Majesty, he desires she would accept of a cup of gold to the value of £100, or some jewel of that value, as may best content her, and best represent the loyalty of his heart.

1601. March 12th. Notice of Essex's Conspiracy.—(Lord Willoughby's letter to Sir Robert Cecil.—Lady G. Bertie, pp. 406, 407.

Lord Willoughby's next letter is valuable, and especially as to the subject of which it treats,—the rash and ill-concerted rebellion of the Earl of Essex.

"For the man that acted this late tragedy, I must confess I loved his person and good parts, being adorned with the favour of a wise prince and high fortune, as I should have done any other that had been seasoned with the same gifts, and in the same manner. I may more freely say I loved him, because it is not unknown when I sought the Master of the Ordnanceship, he crossed me, and in my journey into France was most opposite against me; so that my affections to him were not dependences, but attributed to those I conceived his virtues. This opinion I held *usque ad aras;* but God, the record of all inward consciences, knows there I would have left him; and the same God hath in nothing more showed Himself the Lord of Hosts and armies, and testified the Divinity of His works, than making so glorious a Satrapas to project so vainly; as even his own desires, if he had obtained them, must have been his death. For how could he imagine that all England would have been so besotted, that none durst have acted the like tragedy on him, for the delivery of so gracious a prince, as was formerly effected on the Duke of Guise? and as he handled this, it was so far from resolution, as God is to be praised that took from him his spirit of understanding, courage, and execution. I could have wished his religion had brought him to the provident humility of David, who sorried to have possessed himself but of the lapp of Saul's garment, though it were the witness of his fidelity. But fall it out this to all her Majesty's enemies, as to this precipitate and unfortunate Earl, by fate, by wicked counsel, or else by both; and send such lion-like spirits no better courage to devour innocent lambs. But I will leave him to his confused end, not wondering that he accused you, when his own carriage hath accused himself

QUEEN ELIZABETH. 1601.

most lamentably to the memory of all ages. And for my own part, being the meanest member of all, I cannot but join with you to pity some of those you have vouchsafed to name, since, if they had not been putrified in the place they held so near the head, they were otherwise in their persons and gifts of nature qualified for the service of the Prince and State. But such is the ruin of great oaks, as strait smaller trees that grow by are commonly overthrown by them. But this is discourse beyond my element. I beseech you pardon me, that I take this boldness to delineate some part of my mind concerning these matters to your so favourable view; protesting that I write nothing to observe time, but to preserve truth. And believe me, Sir, if I were not as much yours before, as possibly the faith of an honest man could bind me, I would now make new protestations, and deliver you new bonds, finding myself so newly and highly obliged by this last memory of yours towards me. I can say no more. I will carry a true heart to effect as much as I have professed; and pray God, the giver of all blessings, to multiply them (both heavenly and earthly) on you; and number me, I beseech you, amongst those you make sure reckoning to command as yours most faithfully to do you service.

"P. WILLOUGHBY."

March 21st. Queen Elizabeth's letter to Lord Willoughby.—Birch, vol. II., p. 509.

The Lord Willoughby of Eresby was at his government of Berwick at the time of the Earl of Essex's insurrection and death; of which incidents the Queen, in a letter to that Lord from Whitehall on the 21st of March, 1601, took a slight notice in the following words at the close of it: "And now by the way we will only touch this much of that, whereof we are sure an angel of heaven could hardly have made you a believer, that it appeareth now by one's example, more bound than all or any others, how little faith there was in Israel."

June 25th. Mr. John Guevara's letter to Sir Robert Cecil, announcing Lord Willoughby's death.—Lady G. Percie, pp. 432, 433.

A minute account of the last hours of Willoughby's life, is given in a letter, addressed to the Secretary, in the handwriting of his kinsman Guevara, who appears to have sincerely regretted him, and to have faithfully watched by the bed-side of his dying patron and friend:

"It is no small grief to me, to be the first reporter of the saddest accident that could almost betide to me, and of so unpleasing news to you; but all creatures must stoop to the heavenly decree, and a general duty doth command me, though my heart break with telling it. That honourable lord, the Lord Willoughby that lately was, is now no more an earthly soul; his spirit is gone from us, who, whilst he lived, was unfeigned where he loved, and most regardful of your honour. And when he saw he must go hence, his heart breathed out these protestations: 'I wish my soul might never enjoy the blessing of the heavenly light if ever my heart were other to my sacred anointed Queen, than truly and sincerely faithful, or if ever I gave just cause, even in my thought, to offend her, whatsoever evil the wicked harpies of the world have shricked out, to my prejudice. God forgive them, and let Mr. Secretary, that most honourable gentleman, believe me, for I speak the truth in Christ. My heart long time hath been with Him, as David's was with Jonathan; and if time and occasion would have made me so happy as to witness it in my life, I should have enjoyed great contentment therein. But now I can do nothing but speak. I commend to him my eldest son, and I beseech him satisfy my desiring soul in his honourable care of him.' These words he willed me precisely to observe, and relate to your honour, with the first notice of his death.

"Your honour's to my uttermost in whatsoever you please command me,

"JOHN GUEVARA."

Mr. John Guevara to Sir Robert Cecil, Berwick, June 25, 1601.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. 1601.

Jacob's Peerage, vol. I., p. 328.

His Lordship married Mary, daughter of John Vere, Earl of Oxford, sister and heir of the whole blood to Edward, the seventeenth Earl, and by her ladyship, who died A.D. 1624, had issue Robert, his successor.

ARMS OF LORD WILLOUGHBY
Lady G. Bertie, p. 123.

Robert Bertie, I. Earl of Lindsey, XII. Lord Willoughby, K.G.

HEREDITARY LORD GREAT CHAMBERLAIN OF ENGLAND.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.
1601.
Description of Lord Lindsey — Lloyd's Memoirs, ed. 1668, pp. 306-309.

I find in the observations upon the Statesmen and Favourites of England, this honorable person thus consecrated to immortality.

He and his whole Family (I know not whether more pious, or more valiant; whether more renowned abroad as Confessors for their Religion, or at home as Champions for their Country), have been in this last age an ornament or defence to the Crown, equally reverenced by the subjects of it, and honored by the Soveraigns.

Raising his House, illustrious already, to an higher sphere among the Stars of the first magnitude, he kept the noble stream of his blood as far from its fall, as he found it from its fountain.

Queen Elizabeth would needs be god-mother to the young General, as she called him, and the Earls of Essex and Leicester god-fathers, christening him Robert (a name she observed happy in Souldiers and Statesmen), and injoyning a tryal of his temper, before discretion might be dissembled, when he discovered more inclination to the Armor

QUEEN ELIZABETH.
1601.

than to the Gown, being manly in his very Gugaws and Rattles; and almost with Scanderbeg, calling, the very first word he spake for a sword; and being once, by Sir W. Raleigh, offered the same choice that Achilles was by Ulysses, that is, the softer Fairings of Pictures, little Books, &c., and those more severe, of little Swords and Pistols, he betrayed an Earl's manhood by his choice of the latter, laying hold the first thing when gentlemen came to the House, upon their sword and dagger.

Lord Lindsey's four Expeditions during his Father's life.—Lloyd, p. 309.

The first Expedition wherein he appeared, was in the Company of the Earls of Essex and Nottingham to Cales, where his great spirit was so impatient of delay, that when it was Voted they should set upon the Town and Ships, he and the Earl of Essex threw up their caps, and were so forward, that he was Knighted in the Market-place; where he said, "An old Woman with a stone knocked down the Esquire, and the General commanded him to rise a Knight."

His next adventure was with Sir Thomas Vere, to Brill, where he bestowed his time in observing the exact way of modern and regular Fortification.

His third Expedition was (with Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, then Ambassador) to make observation upon the renowned French King, H. 4, and his Court (the safest and most useful travelling is in an Ambassador's company, and the best places to travel in is Holland to see all the world, and France to see any part of it). Whence he stepped to see the siege of Amiens, so honorably managed by Sir John Baskervile and Sir Arthur Savage.

His fourth sally was (after a voyage with the Earl of Cumberland, to take the Spanish Carickes at Porto Rico), with the Northern Ambassadors, the Lord Zouch and Dr. Perkins, to view the strength, interest, and alliance of the Danes, Swedes, Muscovians, &c., and upon his return a short journey after the Earl of Essex, to see the obstructions to, and the benefits of the Conquest of Ireland.

1602.
His last voyage under Queen Elizabeth.—Lloyd, pp. 310, 311.

And the last voyage under Queen Elizabeth, was with his countrymen Sir Richard Leveson and Sir William Monson, to take the great Caricke, worth 1,000,000 crowns, in the very sight of the Spanish Fleet, and under their Castle, to the great loss of the Spaniard, but the infinite advantage of the English, who were looked upon now as a people to be feared not to be invaded; thus diverting the power of Spain, that ever and anon threatened us, to defend itself.

JAMES I.
Lord Lindsey goes to Italy and Spain.

Upon King James his arrival, he took a private journey to view the Interests, Rarities, Politicks, Magnificences, and the Designs of Italy, to prepare himself with the more advantage to wait on the Earl of Nottingham, in the splendid Ambassie to the slow and reserved Court of Spain, whence after a view of the famous siege of Ostend, he returned to be one of the Knights of the Bath at the Installation of Charles, Duke of York, afterwards King of England.

He settled in Lincolnshire.

And so during the peaceable Reign of King James, the accomplished Lord settled in Lincolnshire, attended, as was occasion, 1. The Parliament with very useful suggestions in the three points he spake most to, viz., Plantations, Trade, the Draining of the Fens, with other Improvements of our Country and Commodities. 2. The Court upon Solemn times with a grave and exemplary aspect and presence. 3. The Courts of Justice, reckoning the meanest service of Justice (not too low for his Lordship, which was high enough for a King), in his Country with tried Arts of Government, severe proceedings against idleness and dissoluteness; several ways to employ and enrich his Neighbours, and wholesome orders for the execution of Laws. And 4. Appearing at home, sometime at half-light,

JAMES I.
1624.

sometimes like himself, as affairs required; improving his Estate as formerly, by saving expenses, and gaining experience in travel.

His House-keeping was noble, having his fish (especially Pikes, of which he would say (it being the Water-Tyrant that destroyed more fish than it was worth), that it was the costliest dish at his Table, a dish of more State than Profit), his Fowl, his Beef, Mutton, Venison, and Corn of his own.

1624.
Four Regiments sent into Holland.—Kennet's "History of England," vol. II., pp. 787, 788.

This Spring gave birth to four brave Regiments of Foot (a new apparition in the English Horizon), Fifteen hundred in a Regiment, which were raised and transported into Holland under four gallant Colonels, the Earl of Oxford, the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Essex, and the Lord Willoughby, since Earl of Lindsey. These Four Regiments, being well Armed, and Exercised in Holland, were ready to march into the Field with Maurice Prince of Orange, General of the States Army; who having an Opposite, the Marquis Spinola, as subtle and more daring than himself, they both lay at the Catch, and their Wariness prevented many a mischief. Maurice finding Spinola with the Spanish Army hankering about Breda, either thinking himself not ready enough to encounter him, or not strong enough to grapple with him, permitted him to work himself within two strong lines of circumvallation, fortified with several Forts and Redoubts, notwithstanding that Breda was his darling town, and the honour of his Excellency. And while Spinola was thus working, he diverted his Army into Cleveland to take in Cleve Castle, a poor and inconsiderable place, which was surrendered to him as soon as he presented his cannon before it; and when he had done that, and Spinola had finished his works, he brought his Army to a little village called Mede, which was close by Spinola's quarters, and there intrench'd himself by his side: but the enemy attended their work, and would not busie themselves to look after him, being strongly fortified, and the way open for their Convoys to bring provisions out of Flanders, which went always very strong; and Prince Maurice would not go so far out of his way from his victual ships to interrupt them, lest he should want provisions for his own Army. But his great design of lodging so near the enemy was to amuse them that they should bend their eyes and thoughts upon him there, and neglect that the more which he aimed at; for he had the Surprising of the strong Castle at Antwerp in his fancy, which (he was informed) at that time had but small Force in it, and he was so assured to prevail, that he would have none but the Dutch to have the Honour of it. But they attempted the Business so blunderingly, that they were discover'd and lost their Labour; and so with some few little Bickerings of small Parties of Horse, betwixt the two intrenched Armies, the whole Summer was shuffled away, and Winter approaching, the Prince seeing little good to be done there, drew his Army to Rosendale and Sprang, Villages adjacent, where they attended opportunities of doing the Enemy mischief. But the Glory of Prince Maurice began to decay; the loss of this Town (which he now gave as gone) came so near his Heart, that he went sick from the Army to the Hague, and never returned to it again.

Spinola besieges Breda.

The King expired at Theobalds, in the 59th year of his age.

1625.
CHARLES I.
Death of Maurice, Prince of Orange.—Kennet, Vol. II., p. 790.

Not long after our King's Death (as if the Time and Season, as well as the Disease, were Epidemical to Princes) old Maurice the Prince of Orange died; and his Brother Prince Henry (being made General of the States Army) put his Fortune into an unhappy Balance, which lost much of the Weight. For either valuing his Soldiers' lives less than his Brother, or the loss of so brave a Town as Breda more, or thinking to spring up with more Glory (Phœnix like) from the Ashes of his Brothers' Funerals (being recruited with

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1625.

the Relicks of Mansfeldt's Army) he set upon one of Spinola's strong works at Terheiden, either to relieve the Town, or beat the Enemy out of his Trenches; but he failed in both, and lost many gallant Men (especially English) in the Enterprise. The Earl of Oxford having the Leading of the Van, (being a man corpulent and heavy) got such a sweltring Heat in the Service, that though he came off without hurt from the Enemy, yet he brought Death along with him, for he fell sick presently after, went to the Hague, and there died.

Death of Henry de Vere, XVIII. Earl of Oxford, Hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain of England.

Willoughby claimed the Earldom of Oxford, with the office of Lord High Chamberlain of England in right of his mother, but succeeded in establishing his right to the chamberlainship only.

Lord Lindsey inherits that office. —— Burke's Extinct Peerage, p. 65.

1626.
Creation of the Earldom of Lindsey.—Collins's Peerage, Vol. I., Part II., pp. 503, 504.

On the 22nd of November, in the 2nd of Charles I., he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Lindsey. The preamble to his patent recites, that the King in consideration of the merits of Robert Lord Willoughby of Willoughby, Beake, and Eresby, Lord Great Chamberlain of England; and that he is a man, the brave son of a most noble and gallant father, and of great loyalty to us. And also how much he merited by his services to us, when in Denmark and Norway, and commander of the forces in the United Provinces; where he behaved as a valiant Knight fit for command, and crown'd his high birth with virtue, wisdom, and sweetness of behaviour.

1628.
Louis XIII., King of France besieges Rochelle.—Campbell's "Lives of Admirals," ed. 1750, Vol. II., pp. 100-111.

The cries of the Rochellers, and the clamours of the people were so loud, that a third fleet was prepared for the relief of that city, now, by a close siege, reduced to the last extremity. The Duke of Buckingham chose to command in person, and to that end came to Portsmouth; where, on the twenty-third of August, having been at breakfast with Soubize, and the general officers, John Felton (late lieutenant of a regiment of foot, under Sir John Ramsay) placed himself in an entry through which the duke was to pass, who walking with Sir Thomas Frier, and inclining his ear to him in a posture of attention, Felton with a back-blow stabbed him on the left side into the very heart, leaving the knife in his body, which the Duke pulled out with his own hand, and then fell down, saying only, *the villain hath killed me!*

This accident did not prevent the king's prosecuting his design, the very next day his majesty made the Earl of Lindsey Admiral, and Moreton and Mountjoy, Vice and Rear-Admirals. This expedition, however, was not more fortunate than the former. The fleet sailed the eight of September 1628, and arriving before Rochelle, found the boom raised to block up the entrance of the port, so strong, that though many attempts were made to break through it, yet they proved vain, so that the Rochellers were glad to accept of terms from their own prince, and actually surrendered the place on the eighteenth of October, the English fleet looking on, but not being able to help them; and, to complete their misfortunes, the very night after the city was given up, the sea made such a breach, as would have opened an entrance for the largest ship in the English fleet. With this expedition ended the operations of the war with France, though a peace was not made till the succeeding year.

1632.
Drainage of the Fens of Lincolnshire. —— Allen's "History of the County of Lincoln," Vol. I., p. 81.

In the 7th of Charles, the East, West, and Wildmore Fens were contracted for by Sir Anthony Thomas and his participants. The Earl of Lindsey became undertaker of all the fens in Holland and Kesteven, north of the river Glen up to Lincoln, for which he was to have 24,000 acres for his share. In the 13th Charles I. the king declared himself the undertaker of the eight hundred, (anciently Haut hundre) or Holland Fen, containing 22,000 acres, to have 8,000 for his share. Sir John Monson, with all the freehold pro-

prietors who chose to join him, drained the Ancholme Level, and had 5,827 acres, assigned to them. These works, there is no doubt, were in a great measure effectual to the purposes designed, for of Deeping Fen it is said, that the waters were so well taken off, that in summer the whole fen yielded great store of grass and hay, and had soon been made winter ground, and the Earl of Lindsey did inclose, build, inhabit, plant, sow, and reap two years together. Yet, nevertheless, on account of civil broils afterwards ensuing, the commoners took advantage of the confusions, and resumed the possessions, every where, of all the undertaker's lands, filled the drains, destroyed the sluices, and the whole level in a short time returned to its original drowned state.

1635.
A Fleet fitted out under the command of Lord Lindsey, to protect our seas and shores.—Campbell, Vol. II. p. 120.

The King in the month of May 1635, fitted out a fleet of forty sail under the command of Robert Earl of Lindsey, who was admiral, sir William Monson, Vice-Admiral, Sir John Pennington, rear-admiral; as also another of 20 sail, under the Earl of Essex. The first of these fleets sailed from Tilbury-Hope on the 26th of May. Their instructions were to give no occasion of hostility, and to suffer nothing which might prejudice the rights of the king and kingdom. The French and Dutch fleets joined off Portland, the last of this month, and made no scruple of giving out that they intended to assert their own independency, and to question that prerogative which the English claimed in the narrow seas; but as soon as they were informed that the English fleet was at sea, and in search of them, they quitted our coast, and repaired to their own. Our Admiral sent a bark upon the coast of Britany, to take a view of them, and from the time of the return of this bark to the 1st of October, this fleet protected our own seas and shores, gave laws to the neighbouring nations, and effectually asserted that sovereignty which the Monarchs of this kingdom have ever claimed. The good effect of this armament, and the reputation we gained thereby abroad, in some measure, quieted the minds of the people, as it convinced them that this was not an invention to bring money into the Exchequer, without respect had to the end for which it was raised.

1639.
Lord Lindsey, Governour of Berwick.—Collins's Peerage, Vol. I., Part II., p. 504.

Lindsey in 1639, on the Scots taking arms, was made Governour of Berwick.

1642.
The King holds a Chapter of the Garter at York.—Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. Part I., p. 19.

The King and the Prince of Wales, the unhappy divisions growing to a height in the beginning of the year 1642, were forced to retire from Whitehall, and reside in the city of York. Thereupon the King held the feast of St. George there (the last he held) with but four Knights Companions of the Garter, viz., the Prince, the Prince Elector Palatine, the Earl of Lindsey, and the Duke of Richmond, the 18th, 19th, and 20th of April. On the last of which days, James, Duke of York, the King's second son, and Rupert Count Palatine of the Rhine, were chose Companions of the most noble order of the Garter. And to make good their elections, as there were not a sufficient number of Knights with the Sovereign to hold a chapter according to the statutes, the King granted a commission of dispensation for the Knights absent, and that the four Knights present should have power to hold chapters, and to do any acts needful, as if the whole number had been full.

The Earl of Lindsey, having been declared General of the Army takes command.—Clarendon, vol. II., pp. 303-305.

As soon as the King, and the whole Court (for none remained at York,) came to Beverley (where they were well accommodated, which kept them from being quickly weary,) and the trained bands were likewise come thither, the General, the Earl of Lindsey, first took possession of his office, a little troubled and out of countenance that he should appear the General without an army, and be engaged in an enterprise which he could not imagine would succeed; his Majesty wished him to send out some officers, of which there was a good store, to take a view of the town, and of such advantage ground, within

distance, upon which he might raise a battery; as if he meant on a sudden to assault the place; which appeared no unreasonable design, if there were a good party in the town to depend upon. And yet the General had no opinion that his army of trained bands would frankly expose themselves to such an attack. Besides a great number of officers, and persons of quality, who were all well horsed, and had many servants as well provided, the King had his troop of guards so constituted, as hath been said before; and there were few horses in Hull, without officers who understood that kind of service. So that it was no hard matter to take a very full view of the town, by riding to the very ports, and about the walls; nor, at first appearance, was there any shew of hostility from the town upon their nearest approaches to it; but after they had made that visit two or three days together, they observed that the walls were better manned, and that there was every day an increase of labourers repairing the works; and then they began to shoot, when any went within distance of the works.

All this while Sir John Hotham had tried some of his officers, in whose particular affection he had most confidence, how far they were like to be governed by him; and found them of a temper not to be relied upon. His son had grown jealous of some design, and was caballing with those who were most notorious for their disaffection to the government; and new officers were sent down by the Parliament, to assist in the defence of the town, which they thought might probably be attempted; and supplies of men had been taken in from the ships, and had been sent thither from Boston, a town upon the same coast, of eminent disloyalty. So that, when the Lord Digby returned thither, he found a great damp upon the spirit of the Governor, and a sadness of mind, that he had proceeded so far; of which his Lordship made all the haste he could to advertise the King; but his letters must first be sent to York before they could come to Beverley; and, when they were received, they contained still somewhat of hope "that he should be able to restore him to his former courage, and confirm his resolution:" so that the King seemed to defer any attempt, upon the hopes of the Earl of Holland's message, before mentioned, and, in the end, he was compelled to give over the design, all hope from the Governor growing desperate; whether from his want of courage, or want of power to execute what he desired, remains still uncertain.

The King dismissed the trained bands and returned with his whole court to York.

Faction in the king's army.—Clarendon, vol. II. pp. 377-379.

When the whole army marched together, there was quickly discovered an unhappy jealousy and division between the principal officers, which grew quickly into a perfect faction between the foot and the horse. The Earl of Lindsey was general of the whole army by his commission, and thought very equal to it. But when Prince Rupert came to the King, which was after the standard was set up, and received a commission to be general of the horse, which, all men knew was designed for him, there was a clause inserted into it, which exempted him from receiving orders from any body but from the King himself; which, upon the matter, separated all the horse from any dependence upon the general, and had other ill consequences in it: for when the King at midnight, being in his bed, and receiving intelligence of the enemy's motion, commanded the Lord Falkland, his principal secretary of state, to direct Prince Rupert what he should do, he took it very ill, and expostulated with the Lord Falkland for giving him orders. But he could not have directed his passion against any man who would feel or regard it less. And he told him, "that it was his office to signify what the King bad him; which he should always do; and that he, in neglecting it, neglected the King;" who did neither the Prince nor his own

service any good, by complying in the beginning with his rough nature, which rendered him very ungracious to all men. But the King was so indulgent to him that he took his advice in all things relating to the army, and so upon consideration of their march, and the figure of the battle they resolved to fight in with the enemy, he concurred entirely with Prince Rupert's advice, and rejected the opinion of the general, who preferred the order he had learned under Prince Maurice and Prince Harry, with whom he had served at the same time, when the Earl of Essex and he had both regiments.

The Earl of Essex marches after the King.

Within two days after the King marched from Shrewsbury, the Earl of Essex moved from Worcester to attend him, with an army far superior in number to the King's; the horse and foot being completely armed, and the men very well exercised, and the whole equipage (being supplied out of the King's magazines), suitable to an army set forth at the charge of a kingdom. The Earl of Bedford had the name of general of the horse, though that command principally depended upon Sir William Balfour. Of the nobility he had with him the Lords Kimbolton, Saint-John's, Wharton, Roberts, Rochford, and Fielding, (whose fathers, the Earls of Dover and Denbigh, charged as volunteers in the King's guards of horse,) and many gentlemen of quality; but his train was so very great that he could move but in slow marches. So that the two armies, though they were but twenty miles asunder, when they first set forth, and both marched the same way, gave not the least disquiet in ten days' march to each other; and in truth, as it appeared afterwards, neither army knew where the other was.

The King by quick marches, having seldom rested a day in any place, came on Saturday, the twenty-second day of October, to Edgcot, a village in Northamptonshire, within four miles of Banbury, in which the rebels had a very strong garrison. As soon as he came thither, he called a council of war, and having no intelligence that the Earl of Essex was within any distance, it was resolved "the King and the army should rest in those quarters the next day, only that Sir Nicholas Byron should march with his brigade, and attempt the taking in of Banbury." And with this resolution the council brake up, and all men went to their quarters, which were at a great distance, without any apprehension of an enemy. But that night, about twelve of the clock, Prince Rupert sent the King word, "that the body of the rebels' army was within seven or eight miles, and that the head quarter was at a village called Keinton on the edge of Warwickshire; and that it would be in his majesty's power, if he thought fit, to fight a battle the next day;" which his majesty liked well, and therefore immediately despatched orders to cross the design for Banbury, "and that the whole army should draw to a rendezvous on the top of Edge-hill;" which was a very high hill about two miles from Keinton, where the head-quarters of the earl were, and which had a clear prospect of all that valley.

October 23rd
The battle of Keinton on Edge-hill.—pp. 379, 380.

In the morning, being Sunday the twenty-third of October (1642), when the rebels were beginning their march (for they suspected not the King's forces to be near), they perceived a fair body of horse on the top of that hill, and easily concluded their march was not then to be far. It is certain they were exceedingly surprised, having never had any other confidence of their men, than by the disparity they concluded would be still between their numbers and the King's, the which they found themselves now deceived in. For two of their strongest and best regiments of foot, and one regiment of horse, was a day's march behind with their ammunition. So that, though they were still superior in number, yet that difference was not so great as they promised themselves. However, it cannot be denied that the Earl, with great dexterity, performed whatsoever could be expected

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Battle of Edge-hill.—Clarendon, vol. II., pp. 380, 381.

from a wise General. He chose that ground which best liked him. There was between the hill and the town a fair campaign, save that near the town it was narrower, and on the right hand some hedges, and inclosures: so that there he placed musketeers, and not above two regiments of horse, where the ground was narrowest; but on his left wing he placed a body of a thousand horse, commanded by one Ramsey a Scotch-man; the reserve of horse, which was a good one, was commanded by the Earl of Bedford, General of their horse, and Sir William Balfour with him. The General himself was with the foot, which were ordered as much to advantage as might be. And in this posture they stood from eight of the clock in the morning.

On the other side, though Prince Rupert was early in the morning with the greatest part of the horse on the top of the hill, which gave the enemy the first alarum of the necessity of fighting, yet the foot were quartered at so great a distance, that many regiments marched seven or eight miles to the rendezvous: so that it was past one of the clock before the King's forces marched down the hill; the General himself alighted at the head of his own regiment of foot, his son the Lord Willoughby being next to him, with the King's regiment of guards, in which was the King's standard, carried by Sir Edmund Verney, Knight Marshal. The King's right wing of horse was commanded by Prince Rupert, the left wing by Mr. Wilmot, Commissary General of the horse, who was assisted by Sir Arthur Aston with most of the dragoons, because that left wing was opposed to the enemy's right, which had the shelter of some hedges lined with musketeers: and the reserve was committed to Sir John Byron, and consisted indeed only of his own regiment. At the entrance into the field, the King's troop of guards, either provoked by some unseasonable scoffs amongst the soldiery, or out of desire of glory, or both, besought the King "that he would give them leave to be absent that day from his person, and to charge in the front amongst the horse;" the which his Majesty consented to. They desired Prince Rupert "to give them that honour which belonged to them;" who accordingly assigned them the first place; which, though they performed their parts with admirable courage, may well be reckoned amongst the oversights of that day.

It was near three of the clock in the afternoon before the battle began; which at that time of the year was so late that some were of opinion, "that the business should be deferred till the next day." But against that there were many objections; "the King's numbers could not increase, the enemy's might;" for they had not only their garrisons, Warwick, Coventry, and Banbury, within distance, but all that county so devoted to them, that they had all provisions brought to them, without the least trouble; whereas, on the other side, the people were so disaffected to the King's party, that they had carried away, or hid, all their provisions, insomuch as there was neither meat for man or horse; and the very smiths hid themselves, that they might not be compelled to shoe the horses, of which in those stony ways there was great need. This proceeded not from any radical malice, or disaffection to the King's cause, or his person; though it is true, that circuit in which this battle was fought, being very much in the interest of the Lord Say, and the Lord Brooke, was the most eminently corrupted of any county in England; but by the reports and infusions which the other very diligent party had wrought into the people's belief, "that the Cavaliers were of a fierce, bloody and licentious disposition, and that they committed all manner of cruelty upon the inhabitants of those places where they came, of which robbery was the least;" so that the poor people thought there was no other way to preserve their goods than by hiding them out of the way; which was confessed by them,

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when they found how much that information had wronged them, by making them so injurious to their friends. And therefore, where the army rested a day, they found much better entertainment at parting than when they came; for it will not be denied, that there was no person of honour or quality, who paid not punctually and exactly for what he had; and there was not the least violence or disorder among the common soldiers in their march, which scaped exemplary punishment; so that at Bromicham, a town so generally wicked that it had risen upon small parties of the King's and killed or taken them prisoners, and sent them to Coventry, declaring a more peremptory malice to his Majesty than any other place, two soldiers were executed for having taken some small trifle of no value out of a house, whose owner was at that time in the rebels' army. So strict was the discipline in this army; when the other, without control, practised all the dissoluteness imaginable. But the march was so fast, that the leaving a good reputation behind them was no harbinger to provide for their better reception in their next quarters. So that their wants were so great at the time they came to Edgehill, that there were very many companies of the common soldiers, who had scarce eaten bread in eight-and-forty hours before. The only way to cure this was a victory; and therefore the King gave the word, though it was late, the enemy keeping their ground to receive him without advancing at all.

In this hurry, there was an omission of somewhat, which the King intended to have executed before the beginning of the battle. He had caused many proclamations to be printed of pardon to all those soldiers who would lay down their arms, which he resolved, as is said before, to have sent by a herald to the Earl of Essex, and to have found ways to have scattered and dispersed them in that army, as soon as he understood they were within any distance of him. But all men were now so much otherwise busied, that it was not soon enough remembered; and when it was, the proclamations were not at hand; which, by that which follows, might probably have produced a good effect. For as the right wing of the King's horse advanced to charge the left wing, which was the gross of the enemy's horse, Sir Faithful Fortescue (who, having his fortune and interest in Ireland, was come out of that Kingdom to hasten supplies thither, and had a troop of horse raised for him for that service; but as many other of those forces were, so his troop was likewise disposed into that army, and he was now Major to Sir William Waller; he) with his whole troop advanced from the gross of their horse, and discharging all their pistols on the ground, within little more than carabine shot of his own body, presented himself and his troop to Prince Rupert; and immediately with his Highness, charged the enemy. Whether this sudden accident, as it might very well, and the not knowing how many more were of the same mind, each man looking upon his companion with the same apprehension as upon the enemy, or whether the terror of Prince Rupert, and the King's horse, or all together, with their own evil consciences, wrought upon them, I know not, but that whole wing, having unskilfully discharged their carabines and pistols into the air, wheeled about, the King's horse charging in the flank and rear, and having thus absolutely routed them, pursued them flying; and had the execution of them above two miles.

The left wing, commanded by Mr. Wilmot, had as good success, though they were to charge in worse ground, amongst hedges and through gaps and ditches which were lined with musqueteers. But Sir Arthur Aston, with great courage and dexterity, beat off those musqueteers with his dragoons; and then the right wing of their horse was as easily routed and dispersed as their left, and those followed the chase as furiously as the other. The reserve

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seeing none of the enemy's horse left, thought there was nothing more to be done, but to pursue those that fled, and could not be contained by their commanders, but with spurs and loose reins followed the chase which their left wing had led them. And by this means, while most men thought the victory unquestionable, the King was in danger of the same fate which his predecessor Henry the third felt at the battle of Lewes against his Barons; when his son the Prince, having routed their horse, followed the chase so far, that before his return to the field, his father was taken prisoner; and so his victory served only to make the misfortunes of that day the more intolerable. For all the King's horse having thus left the field, many of them only following the execution, others intending the spoil in the town of Keinton, where all the baggage was, and the Earl of Essex's own coach, which was taken and brought away; their reserve, commanded by Sir William Balfour, moved up and down the field in good order, and marching towards the King's foot pretended to be friends, till observing no horse to be in readiness to charge them, they brake in upon the foot and did great execution. Then was the General, the Earl of Lindsey, in the head of his regiment, being on foot, shot in the thigh; with which he fell, and was presently encompassed with the enemy; and his son the Lord Willoughby, piously endeavouring the rescue of his father, taken prisoner with him. Then was the standard taken (Sir Edmund Verney, who bore it, being killed), but rescued again by Captain John Smith, an officer of the Lord Grandison's regiment of horse, and by him brought off. And if those horse had bestirred themselves, they might, with little difficulty, have destroyed or taken prisoner the King himself, and his two sons, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of York, being with fewer than one hundred horse, and those without officer or command, within half musket shot of that body, before he suspected them to be enemies.

When Prince Rupert returned from the chase, he found this great alteration in the field, and his Majesty himself with few noblemen, and a small retinue about him, and the hope of so glorious a day quite vanished. For though most of the officers of horse were returned, and that part of the field covered again with the loose troops, yet they could not be persuaded or drawn to charge either the enemy's reserve of horse, which alone kept the field, or the body of their foot, which only kept their ground. The officers pretending "that their soldiers were so dispersed, that there were not ten of any troop together;" and the soldiers "that their horses were so tired, that they could not charge." But the truth is, where many soldiers of one troop or regiment were rallied together, there the officers were wanting; and where the officers were ready, there the soldiers were not together; and neither officers nor soldiers desired to move without those who properly belonged to them. Things had now so ill an aspect that many were of opinion that the King should leave the field, though it was not easy to advise whither he should have gone; which if he had done, he had left an absolute victory to those who even at this time thought themselves overcome. But the King was positive against this advice, well knowing that as that army was raised by his person and presence only, so it could by no other means be kept together; and he thought it unprincely to forsake them who had forsaken all they had to serve him; besides, he observed the other side looked not as if they thought themselves conquerors; for that reserve, which did so much mischief before, since the return of his horse, betook themselves to a fixed station between their foot, which at best could but be thought to stand their ground, which two brigades of the King's did with equal courage, and gave equal volleys; and therefore he tried all possible ways to get the horse to charge again; easily discerning by some little attempts which were made, what a

Battle of Edge-hill.—Clarendon, vol. II., pp. 387, 388.

notable impression a brisk one would have made upon the enemy. And when he saw it was not to be done, he was content with their only standing still. Without doubt, if either party had known the constitution of the other, they had not parted so fairly; and very probably, whichsoever had made a bold offer, had compassed his end upon his enemy. This made many believe, though the horse vaunted themselves aloud to have done their part, that the good fortune of the first part of the day, which, well managed, would have secured the rest, was to be imputed rather to their enemy's want of courage than to their own virtue (which, after so great a victory could not so soon have forsaken them), and to the sudden and unexpected revolt of Sir Faithful Fortescue with a whole troop, no doubt much to the consternation of those he left; though they had not so good fortune as they deserved; for by the negligence of not throwing away their orange-tawny scarfs, which they all wore as the Earl of Essex's colours, and being immediately engaged in the charge, many of them, not fewer than seventeen or eighteen, were suddenly killed by those to whom they joined themselves.

In this doubt of all sides, the night, the common friend to wearied and dismayed armies, parted them; and then the King caused his cannon, which were nearest the enemy, to be drawn off; and with his whole forces himself spent the night in the field, by such a fire as could be made of the little wood and bushes which grew thereabouts, unresolved what to do the next morning; many reporting, "that the enemy was gone:" but when the day appeared the contrary was discovered; for then they were seen standing in the same posture and place in which they fought, from whence the Earl of Essex, wisely, never suffered them to stir all that night; presuming reasonably, that if they were drawn off never so little from that place, their numbers would lessen, and that many would run away; and therefore he caused all manner of provisions, with which the country supplied him plentifully, to be brought thither to them for their refreshment, and reposed himself with them in the place; besides, that night he received a great addition of strength, not only by rallying those horse and foot which had run out of the field in the battle, but by the arrival of Colonel Hambden, and Colonel Grantham, with two thousand fresh foot (which were reckoned among the best of the army), and five hundred horse, which marched a day behind the army for the guard of their ammunition, and a great part of their train, not supposing there would have been any action that would have required their presence. All the advantage this seasonable recruit brought them, was to give their old men so much courage as to keep the field, which it was otherwise believed they would hardly have been persuaded to have done. In the other army, after a very cold night spent in the field without any refreshment or victual, or provision for the soldiers (for the country was so disaffected, that it not only not sent in provisions, but soldiers who straggled into the villages for relief were knocked in the head by the common people), the King found his troops very thin; for though by conference with the officers, he might reasonably conclude that there were not many slain in the battle, yet a third part of his foot were not upon the place, and of the horse many missing; and they that were in the field were so tired with duty, and weakened with the want of meat, and shrunk up with the cold of the night (for it was a terrible frost, and there was no shelter of either tree or hedge), that though they had reason to believe by the standing still of the enemy, whilst a small party of the King's horse, in the morning took away four pieces of their cannon very near them, that any offer towards a charge, or but marching towards them, would have made a notable impression in them, yet there was so visible an averseness from it in most officers as well as soldiers, that the King

CHARLES I.
1642.

The Earl of Lindsey is wounded in the battle of Edge-hill and dies.

Clarendon, vol. II., pp. 388, 389.

thought not fit to make the attempt; but contented himself to keep his men in order, the body of horse facing the enemy upon the field where they had fought.

Towards noon the King resolved to try that expedient, which was prepared for the day before; and sent Sir William Le Neve, Clarencieux King at Arms, to the enemy, with his proclamation of pardon to such as would lay down arms; believing, though he expected then little benefit by the proclamation, that he should by that means receive some advertisement of the condition of the army, and what prisoners they had taken (for many persons of command and quality were wanting) giving him order likewise to desire to speak with the Earl of Lindsey, who was known to be in their hands. Before Sir William came to the army, he was received by the out-guards, and conducted with strictness (that he might say or publish nothing among the soldiers) to the Earl of Essex; who, when he offered to read the proclamation aloud, and to deliver the effect of it, that he might be heard by those who were present, rebuked him with some roughness, and charged him, "as he loved his life, not to presume to speak a word to the soldiers"; and, after some few questions, sent him presently back, well guarded through the army, without any answer at all. At his return he had so great a feeling and sense of the danger he had passed, that he made little observation of the posture or numbers of the enemy. Only he seemed to have seen or apprehended so much trouble and disorder in the faces of the Earl of Essex, and the principal officers about him, and so much dejection in the common soldiers, that they looked like men who had no further ambition than to keep what they had left. He brought word of the death of the Earl of Lindsey; who, being carried out of the field a prisoner, into a barn of the next village, for want of a surgeon, and such accommodations as were necessary, within few hours died with the loss of blood, his wound not being otherwise mortal or dangerous. This was imputed to the inhumanity of the Earl of Essex, as if he had purposely neglected or inhibited the performing any necessary offices to him, out of the insolence of his nature, and in revenge of some former unkindnesses which had passed between them. But I presume it may be with more justice attributed to the hurry and distraction of that season, when, being so insecure of their friends, they had no thoughts vacant for their enemies. For it is not to be denied at the time when the Earl of Lindsey was taken prisoner, the Earl of Essex thought himself in more danger; and among his faults want of civility and courtesy was none.

The number of the slain, by the testimony of the minister and others of the next parish who took care for the burying of the dead, and which was the only computation that could be made, amounted to above five thousand; whereof two parts were conceived to be of those of the Parliament party, and not above a third part of the King's. Indeed the loss of both sides was so great, and so little of triumph appeared in either, that the victory could scarce be imputed to the one or the other. Yet the King's keeping the field, and having the spoil of it, by which many persons of quality who had lain wounded in the field were preserved, his pursuing afterwards the same design he had when he was diverted to the battle, and succeeding in it (which shall be touched anon), were greater ensigns of victory on that side than the taking the General prisoner, and the taking the standard, which was likewise recovered, were on the other. Of the King's side the principal persons who were lost were the Earl of Lindsey, General of the Army, the Lord Stewart, Lord Aubigney, son of the Duke of Lenox, and brother to the then Duke of Richmond and Lenox, Sir Edmund Verney, Knight Marshall of the King's Horse, and Standard bearer, and some others of less name, though of great virtue, and good quality.

A character of the Earl of Lindsey, the King's General. Clarendon, vol. II., pp. 390, 391.

The Earl of Lindsey was a man of very noble extraction, and inherited a great fortune from his ancestors; which, though he did not manage with so great care, as if he desired much to improve, yet he left it in a very fair condition to his family, which more intended the increase of it. He was a man of great honour, and spent his youth and vigour of his age in military actions and commands abroad; and albeit he indulged to himself great liberties of life, yet he still preserved a very good reputation with all men, and a very great interest in his country, as appeared by the supplies he and his son brought to the King's army; the several companies of his own regiment of foot being commanded by the principal Knights and Gentlemen of Lincolnshire, who engaged themselves in the service principally out of their personal affection to him. He was of a very generous nature, and punctual in what he undertook, and in exacting what was due to him; which made him bear that restriction so heavily which was put upon him by the commission granted to Prince Rupert, and by the King's preferring the Prince's opinion in all matters relating to the war, before his. Nor did he conceal his resentment; the day before the battle, he said to some friends, with whom he had used freedom, "that he did not look upon himself "as General; and therefore he was resolved, when the day of battle should come, that he "would be in the head of his regiment as a private Colonel, where he would die." He was carried out of the field to the next village; and if he could then have procured surgeons it was thought his wound would not have proved mortal. And as soon as the other army was composed by the coming on of the night, the Earl of Essex about midnight, sent Sir William Balfour, and some other officers to see him, and to offer him all offices, and meant himself to have visited him. They found him upon a little straw in a poor house, where they had laid him in his blood, which had run from him in great abundance, no surgeon having been yet with him; only he had great vivacity in his looks, and told them, "he was sorry to see so many gentlemen, some whereof were his old friends, engaged in so foul a rebellion;" and principally directed his discourse to Sir William Balfour, whom he put in mind of "the great obligations he had to the King; how much "his Majesty had disobliged the whole English nation by putting him into the command "of the Tower; and that it was the most odious ingratitude in him to make him that "return." He wished them to tell my Lord Essex "that he ought to cast himself at the "King's feet to beg his pardon; which, if he did not speedily do, his memory would be "odious to the nation;" and continued this kind of discourse with so much vehemence, that the officers by degrees withdrew themselves, and prevented the visit the Earl of Essex intended him, who only sent the best surgeons to him; but in the very opening of his wounds he died before the morning, only upon the loss of blood. He had very many friends, and very few enemies, and died generally lamented.

Lindsey, dying, addresses Sir W. Balfour.

Death of Lord Aubigney —Clarendon, p. 392

The Lord Aubigney was a gentleman of great hopes, of a gentle and winning disposition, and of very clear courage: he was killed in the first charge with the horse; where, there being so little resistance, gave occasion to suspect that it was done by his own Lieutenant, who was a Dutchman, and had not been so punctual in his duty, but that he received some reprehension from his Captain, which he murmured at. His body was brought off, and buried at Christ-Church in Oxford; his two younger brothers, the Lord John and the Lord Bernard Stewart, were in the same battle, and were afterwards both killed in the war, and his only son is now Duke of Richmond. Sir Edmund Verney hath been mentioned before, he was a person of great honour and courage, and lost his life in that charge when Balfour, with that reserve of horse, which had been so long undiscerned, broke into those regiments; but his body was not found.

CHARLES I. 1642.

Further particulars concerning the Battle of Edgehill.

Clarendon, vol. II., pp. 392-396.

Of the Parliament party that perished, the Lord Saint-John of Bletnezo, and Charles Essex, were of the best quality.

Prisoners taken by the enemy were, the Lord Willoughby, hastily and piously endeavouring the rescue of his father; Sir Thomas Lunsford, and Sir Edward Stradling, both Colonels; and Sir William Vavasour, who commanded the King's regiment of guards, under the Lord Willoughby; and some other inferior commanders. There were hurt, Sir Jacob Ashley, and Sir Nicholas Byron, and more dangerously, Colonel Charles Gerrard, who, being shot in the thigh, was brought off the field without any hopes of life, but recovered to act a great part afterwards in the war; Sir George Strode, and some other gentlemen who served amongst the foot; for of the horse there was not an officer of name, who received a wound, the Lord Aubigney only excepted; so little resistance did that part of the enemy make. Of the rebels there were slain, besides the Lord Saint-John, Colonel Charles Essex, the soldier of whom they had the best opinion, and who had always, till this last action, preserved a good reputation in the world, which was now the worse, over and above the guilt of rebellion, by his having sworn to the Queen of Bohemia, by whose intercession he procured leave from the Prince of Orange to go into England, "that "he would never serve against the King;" and many others of obscure names, though officers of good command. There were a good number of their officers, especially of horse, taken prisoners, but (save that some of them were Parliament men) of mean quality in the world, except only Sir William Essex, the father of the Colonel, whose wants, from having wasted a very great fortune, and his son's invitation, led him into that company, where he was a private captain of his regiment.

When the armies had thus only looked one upon another the whole day, and it being discerned that the enemy had drawn off his carriages, the King directed all his army to retire into their old quarters, presuming (as it proved) that many of those who were wanting would be found there. And so himself with his two sons went to Edgecot, where he lay the night before the battle, resolving to rest the next day, both for the refreshing his wearied and even tired men, and to be informed of the motion and condition of the enemy, upon which some troops of the King's horse attended. The Earl of Essex retired with his to Warwick Castle, whither he had sent all his prisoners; so that on the Tuesday morning the King was informed that the enemy was gone, and that some of his horse had attended the rear of the enemy almost to Warwick, and that they had left many of their carriages, and very many of their wounded soldiers, at the village next to the field; by which it appeared that their remove was in haste and not without apprehension.

After the horse had marched almost to Warwick, and found the coast clear from the enemy, they returned to the field to view the dead bodies, many going to enquire after their friends who were missing, where they found many not yet dead of their wounds, amongst whom, with others, young Mr. Scroop brought off his father, Sir Gervas Scroop, who being an old gentleman of great fortune in Lincolnshire, had raised a foot company amongst his tenants, and brought them into the Earl of Lindsey's regiment, out of devotion and respect to his Lordship, as well as duty to the King; and had, about the time that the General was taken, fallen with sixteen wounds in his body and head; and had lain from that time, which was about three in the afternoon on Sunday, all that cold night, all Monday, and Monday night, and till Tuesday evening, for it was so late before his son found him; whom with great piety he carried to a warm lodging, and afterwards to Oxford; where he wonderfully recovered.

CHARLES I.
1642.

Further particulars concerning the battle of Edgehill.

Clarendon, vol. II., p. 396.

On Wednesday morning the King drew his army to a rendezvous, where he found his numbers greater than he expected; for, in the night after the battle, very many of the common soldiers, out of cold and hunger, had found their old quarters. So that it was really believed upon this view, when this little rest had recovered a strange cheerfulness into all men, that there were not in that battle lost above three hundred men at most. There the King declared General Ruthen General of his army in the place of the Earl of Lindsey; and then marched to Ayno, a little village two miles distant from Banbury.

CHARLES I.
1642.

Burke's Extinct Peerage, p. 55.

Lord Willoughby married Elizabeth, only child* of Edward, first Lord Montagu, of Boughton, and grand-daughter, maternally, of Sir John Jefferies, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and had issue,

Montagu, his successor. Francis, Captain of Horse, killed in the King's service, in Ireland, Anno 1641. Henry, Captain of Horse, killed at Newbury, fighting under the royal banner. His Lordship was succeeded by his eldest son Montagu.

* By his first wife.

ARMS OF LORD LINDSEY.
(Ashmole's Order of the Garter.)

Montagu Bertie, II. Earl of Lindsey, XIII. Lord Willoughby, K.G.

CHARLES I
1642.

HEREDITARY LORD GREAT CHAMBERLAIN OF ENGLAND.

AT the battle of Edgehill he fought in the same division with his father, whom he attended in all his dangers, and perceiving him to be wounded, so that he could not be moved off from the field of battle, he suffered himself to be taken prisoner by a captain of the parliament's horse, that he might do his last duties to his father, in attending and comforting him; who, on the following day, the 24th of October, 1642, died in his arms, leaving him Earl of Lindsey, and a prisoner in the hands of the rebels.

Battle of Edgehill.—Jacob's "Peerage," vol. I., p. 329

Lord Lindsey a prisoner — Ledge's "Portraits," vol. V., p. 161.

CHARLES I.
1642.

Amidst the confusion, and multiplicity of cares, necessarily following such an action, the King's almost first attention seems to have been directed to him. A trumpet was despatched to the enemy, with proposals for his release, and the following Letter, written with the King's own hand, directed for the Earl of Lindsey, Lord High Chamberlain of England, and signed with his Sign Manual. This letter, so much to the honour of the Family, was never yet publish'd; but was sent me for that purpose by the Honourable Charles Bertie, of Uffington, lately deceas'd, and is as following.

October 27th.
King Charles's letter to Lord Lindsey. — Eachard's "History of England," vol. II., p. 334.

"Lindsey,

"You cannot be more Sensible (as I believe) of your Father's Loss, than my Self, his Death confirming the Estimation I ever had of him: As for your Self, the double Sufferings you have had for my Sake, both in your Father's Person, and your own, puts upon me the stricter Obligation, not only to restore you to your Liberty (now unjustly detain'd from you), but also to shew the World by my Actions how really I am

"Your most assured constant Friend,

"Ayno, 27 Oct. 1642." "CHARLES R.

1643.
Lord Lindsey liberated. — Lodge's "Portraits," vol. V., p. 161.

The King however, had reckoned too favourably of the justice and generosity of those who were opposed to him. They refused to accept any exchange for Lindsey; and, from their knowledge of his exalted fidelity, or of his military skill or bravery, or perhaps from mere malice, detained him till the 11th of August in the following year, when he was liberated, it does not appear on what terms, and joining the King at Oxford, became one of his prime counsellors for the future conduct of the war.

1644.
Command-the Life Guards. —Lodge, vol. V., p. 161.

He would, however, exercise no command beyond that of his old regiment, the Life Guard, at the head of which he was actively and valiantly engaged at both the battles of Newbury, at Cropredy Bridge, in several actions in Cornwall, and, finally, when, by his majesty's bad intelligence of the enemy's motions, a battle became unavoidable at Naseby, his Lordship, with the Earl of Litchfield, commanded the body of reserve, consisting of the King's own regiment of foot guards, a regiment of horse guards, Prince Rupert's regiment of foot, and some other draughts, the whole drawn up so as to support the centre of the King's army. This body long made a vigorous stand against the victorious army of the Parliament, which was commanded by Fairfax, Cromwell, and the flower of their generals; but being separated from the foot in the centre, they were at last obliged to give way, and the Earl of Lindsey was wounded in the action.

1645.
Battle of Naseby.—Jacob's "Peerage," vol. I., p. 340.

Lord Lindsey employed in the King's service. — Lodge, vol. V., p. 162.

It was there that his master's fate may be said to have been unhappily decided; and as Charles never after commanded personally in the field, so Lindsey, who had almost always fought as it were by his side, now retired from military service. He continued in constant attendance on the King till his Majesty fatally put himself into the hands of the Scots, and then, with his approbation, surrendered, with the Duke of Richmond, and others of Charles's best friends, to the rebel army, and, after an imprisonment of some duration, was released on his parole. He now constantly employed himself in various efforts to promote some sort of accommodation between the King and the Parliament, from which his known honour and integrity extorted a respect rarely shewn by that body to any of the royal party.

1648.
A committee is sent to the King. — Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion," (ed. 1849), vol. IV., pp. 432, 453.

At length, after an expiration of two years, a committee was sent from both houses to the King, at Carisbrook Castle, where he had been close shut up about half-a-year.

The message the committee delivered was, "that the houses did desire a treaty with "his majesty, in what place of the Isle of Wight he would appoint, upon the propositions

"tendered to him at Hampton Court, and such other propositions as they should cause to "be presented to him; and that his majesty should enjoy honour, freedom, and safety in "his person." The messengers, who were one of the house of peers and two commoners, were to return within ten days. The King received them very graciously, and told them "they could not believe that any man could desire a peace more heartily than himself; "that though he was without any man to consult with, and without a secretary, yet they "should not be put to stay long for an answer;" which he gave them within two or three days, all written in his own hand, in which he said, "he did very cheerfully embrace their "motion, but named the town of Newport for the place of the treaty." He sent a list of the names of those his servants which he desired might be admitted to come to him; whereof the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, were the chief; all four gentlemen of his bed-chamber, and of his privy council. He named likewise all the other servants whose attendance he desired. He sent a list of the names of several bishops, and of such of his chaplains, as he desired to confer with, and of many common lawyers, and some civilians. The commissioners returned from the Isle of Wight, and delivered this answer to the Parliament.

September 18th. Treaty in the Isle of Wight. —Dugdale's "View of the late troubles in England," p. 289.

A personal Treaty with the King was voted by the members at Westminster. I shall here observe that all things being prepared for the same, it began at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, upon the 18th of September, the chief persons permitted to attend his Majesty there, being these: the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earl of Lindsey, and the Earl of Southampton, the Bishops of London and Salisbury, Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hamond, Dr. Oldsworth, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Turner, and Dr. Heywood, chaplains, Sir Thomas Gardner, Sir Orlando Bridgman, Sir Robert Holburne, Mr. Geffrey Palmer, Mr. Thomas Cooke, and Mr. John Vaughan, lawyers. The members at Westminster imploying these: the Earls of Northumberland, Salisbury, Middlesex, the Viscount Say, the Lord Wenman, Denzil Holles and William Pierpont, Esqrs., Sir Henry Vane, junior, Sir Harbotle Grymston, Mr. Samuel Brown, Sir John Potts, Mr. Crew, Serjeant Glyn, and Mr. Bulkley. These other divines, for the King, being afterwards added, viz., Dr. James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, in Ireland, and Dr. Ferne; and for the Parliament, Mr. Stephen Marshal, Mr. Richard Vines, Mr. Lazarus Seaman, and Mr. Joseph Caryll.

The 40 days' treaty being expired, is prolonged. —Echard, vol. II., p. 616.

The Treaty being expir'd, the King in conclusion earnestly desir'd the Commissioners, That since he had departed from so much of his own Right to give his two Houses Satisfaction, they would be a Means that he might be press'd no farther; since the few things he had not satisfy'd them in, had so near a Relation to his Conscience, that, with the Peace of that, he could not yield farther: And then begged of them to use the same Eloquence and Abilities, by which they had prevail'd with him, in representing to the two Houses the deplorable Condition of the Kingdom, if it were not preserv'd by this Treaty.

November 28th. The Parliamentary Commissioners quit the Isle of Wight. —— Lady Theresa Lewis's "Lives of the Friends of Lord Clarendon," vol. III., p. 93.

The Treaty continued till November 26th, and on the 28th the Parliamentary Commissioners quitted the Isle of Wight. The day after, Lord Hertford, Lord Southampton, Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, and Sir Philip Warwick asked leave of the King to absent themselves for a fortnight on business of their own, not expecting their services to be required till that time, when it was thought the discussions respecting the Treaty would be resumed. The party slept that night at Netley Abbey, a country seat of Lord Hertford's, near Southampton. The Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Lindsey, being in waiting, had remained with the King, at Newport.

CHARLES I.
1648.

The King is hurried from Carisbrook Castle to Hurst Castle.—Jacob's "Peerage," vol. I., p. 330.

Charles, at the opening of the Treaty, had unfortunately given his word of honour that he would not attempt any escape during the negociation; but by this time the army had taken the negociation out of the Parliament's hands, and had abridged him of the liberty he had enjoyed during the Treaty. This gave the Earl of Lindsey and his Majesty's other friends many melancholy apprehensions, which were turned into certainties, when, by the power of the army, the command of Carisbrook Castle, where the King was, was taken from Hammond, who had behaved tolerably well to his Majesty, and given to Colonel Evers, one of his greatest enemies. His Majesty was then surrounded with new guards, who were carried from the mainland in the night-time: all which indicated that the negociation was, in fact, at an end. They therefore were importunate with Charles, while it was yet in his power, to make his escape. He refused to do this, either from a sense of honour, or because, as he said, the preservation of his person was necessary both to the Parliament and the army. The Earl of Lindsey, finding him under this fatal delusion, said to him, "Take heed, sir, lest you fall into such hands as will not steer by such rules of policy. Remember Hampton Court, where your escape was your best security." Happy had it been for the King had he followed this wise and almost prophetical advice; for he was hurried off the next day to Hurst Castle.

Lady T. Lewis, vol. III., p. 94.

The Duke of Richmond only was permitted to accompany him for about two miles, and then forbidden to go further.

Rushworth, vol. II., p. 1344.

He sadly took leave and kissed the King's hand, whose last words were, "Remember me to my Lord of Lindsey, and Colonel Cook, and command Colonel Cook not to forget the Passages of this night."

Lady T. Lewis, vol. III., p. 95.

Thus closed all personal communication between the King and the remnant of that faithful band of loyal subjects who adhered to him to the last.

The King's trial resolved on.—Hume's "History of England," vol. VII., p. 133.

The height of all iniquity and fanatical extravagance yet remained; the public trial and execution of their Sovereign. To this period was every measure precipitated by the zealous independents. The Parliamentary leaders of that party had intended, that the army, themselves, should execute that daring enterprise. But the generals were too wise to load themselves singly with the infamy which, they knew, must attend an action so shocking to the general sentiments of mankind. The Parliament, they were resolved, should share with them the reproach of a measure which was thought requisite for the advancement of their common ends of safety and ambition.

Solicitations on his behalf.—Hume, vol. VII., p. 141.

As soon as the intention of trying the King was known in foreign countries, so enormous an action was exclaimed against by the general voice of reason and humanity; and all men, under whatever form of government they were born, rejected this example, as the utmost effort of undisguised usurpation, and the most heinous insult on law and justice. The French ambassador, by orders from his court, interposed in the King's behalf: the Dutch employed their good offices: the Scots exclaimed and protested against the violence: the Queen, the Prince, wrote pathetic letters to the parliament. All solicitations were found fruitless with men whose resolutions were fixed and irrevocable.

Four of Charles's friends, persons of virtue and dignity, Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, Lindsey, applied to the Commons. They represented that they were the King's counsellors, and had concurred, by their advice, in all those measures which were now imputed as crimes to their royal master: that in the eye of the law, and according to the dictates of common reason, they alone were guilty, and were alone exposed to censure for every blameable action of the Prince: and that they now presented themselves, in order

to save, by their own punishment, that precious life which it became the Commons themselves, and every subject, with the utmost hazard, to protect and defend. Such a generous effort tended to their honour; but contributed nothing towards the King's safety.

This unheard-of Tryal being ended, which struck the Eyes and Ears of all Men with Amazement, the King employ'd his whole Thoughts in preparing for Death.

The King's preparation for death.——Echard, vol. II., p. 636.

He desired two Things, That he might have Liberty to see his Children, and that Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, might be admitted to assist him in his private and last Devotions. This being signified to the present Governors, the former was readily granted, but the latter with some Difficulty. Being now resolved to sequester himself from all outward Impediments, he ordered Mr. Herbert to make an Excuse to any that might have the Desire to visit him. I know, said he, my Nephew, the Prince Elector, will endeavour it, and some other Lords that love me, which I take very kindly; but my Time is short and precious, and I desire to improve it the best I can in Preparation: I hope they will not take it ill, that none have Access to me but my Children. The best Office they can do now, is to pray for me. And it happen'd accordingly; for his Electoral Highness, accompany'd by the four loyal Lords, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquess of Hertford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, with some more, having got leave, came to the Bed-chamber Door, where Mr. Herbert acquainted them with what the King had given him in Charge; at which they acquiesc'd, and presenting their humble Duty to his Majesty, they return'd with all the Marks of Grief and Sorrow.

Three days were allowed the king between his sentence and his execution.

January 30th.
His execution.—Hume, vol. VII., p. 142. And funeral.—Clarendon, vol. IV., (ed 1849), pp. 641, 642.

This unparallelled murder and parricide was committed upon the thirtieth of January, in the year, according to the account used in England, 1648, in the forty and ninth year of his age. The duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, who had been of his bed-chamber, and always very faithful to him, desired those who governed "that they might have leave to perform the last duty to their dead master, and to wait upon him to his grave;" which, after some pauses, they were permitted to do, with this, "that they should not attend the corpse out of the town; since they resolved it should be privately carried to Windsor without pomp or noise, and then they should have timely notice, that, if they pleased, they might be at his interment." And accordingly it was committed to four of those servants, who had been by them appointed to wait upon him during his imprisonment, that they should convey the body to Windsor; which they did. And it was, that night, placed in that chamber which had usually been his bed-chamber: the next morning, it was carried into the great hall, where it remained till the lords came; who arrived there in the afternoon, and immediately went to colonel Whitchect, the governor of the castle, and shewed the order they had from the Parliament to be present at the burial; which he admitted: but when they desired that his majesty might be buried according to the form of the Common Prayer Book, the bishop of London being present with them to officiate, he expressly, positively, and roughly refused to consent to it; and said, "it was not lawful; that the Common Prayer Book was put down, and he "would not suffer it to be used in that garrison where he commanded;" nor could all the reasons, persuasions, and entreaties, prevail with him to suffer it. Then they went into the Church, to make choice of a place for burial. But when they entered into it, which they had been so well acquainted with, they found it so altered and transformed, all tombs, inscriptions, and those landmarks pulled down, by which all men knew every particular place in that

church, and such a dismal mutation over the whole, that they knew not where they were: nor was there one old officer that had belonged to it, or knew where our princes had used to be interred. At last there was a fellow of the town who undertook to tell them the place, where, he said, "there was a vault, in which king Harry the Eight and queen Jane Seymour were interred." As near that place as could conveniently be, they caused the grave to be made. There the king's body was laid without any words, or other ceremonies than the tears and sighs of the few beholders. Upon the coffin was a plate of silver fixed with these words only, "King Charles, 1648."

The late King's Legacies.—Dugdale's "Late troubles in England," p. 382.

His last Legacies of what he had left the night before his Suffering, and afterwards delivered by the hands of Mr. Herbert, were as followeth, viz.: "To the Prince (our now Gracious King) his Bible, in the Margin whereof he had with his own hand Written many Annotations. To the Duke of York his large Ring-Sun-Dial of Silver, which His Majesty much valued, it having been invented and made by Monsieur De la maine, an able Mathematician; and who, in a little Printed Book hath shewed its excellent use, for resolving many Questions in Arithmetick.

"To the Princess Elizabeth, his Daughter, the Sermons of the most Learned Dr. Andrews, sometimes Bishop of Winchester; and Archbishop Laud's Book against Fisher the Jesuit, with Mr. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Policy. As also a Paper to be Printed, in which he asserted Regal Government to have a Divine Right, with Proofs out of sundry Authors, Civil and Sacred.

"To his Son, the Duke of Gloucester, King James, his works, and Dr. Hamond's Practical Catechism;

"To the Earl of Lindsey, Cassandra;

"To the Dutchess of Richmond his Gold Watch;

And to Mr. Herbert himself, "the Silver Clock, which usually hung by his Bed-side."

Lord Lindsey unmolested by the Government.—Jacob's "Peerage," vol. 1., p. 330.

It is extremely remarkable, that those four noblemen, who had the courage to espouse their master's cause after his death, were more unmolested by the rebel government, than any other royalists of their quality. The Earl of Lindsey paid no more than six hundred and forty-seven pounds, thirteen shillings, and three hundred pounds a year, as a composition for his estate, and enjoyed the rest of it, in a life of privacy, during the continuance of the usurpation, and in making remittances to his exiled sovereign. That he kept a correspondence with Charles II. while that prince was in banishment, is extremely probable, from the following letter, indorsed by Sir Edward Hyde's (afterwards earl of Clarendon) own hand.

1653.
A letter from Charles II. to the Duke of York.—Ibid.

"The King to the duke of Yorke, by Mr. Bartie, September, 1653.

"Though, God be thanked, I mend apace, yet you may see that I am not soe well as I would be, since I am compelled to use another's hand, which I had rather doe than this bearer, Mr. Bartie, a son of the earl of Lindsey, should go without my recommendation of him to you. His purpose is to apply himself to the profession of a soldier, and he desires to be under your protection and command; and I am very well pleased that persons of that quality should have their dependence upon you. I shall not neede to desire you to give him all countenance and encouragement, which I am confident he will deserve, for he hath spent his time well abroad.

"I shall hope to be soe well as to be able to take the ayre shortly, if the weather growes better."

CHARLES II.
1660.

This noble earl lived to see the restoration of Charles II. but without reaping any fruits, in point of fortune, from it, for the immense expences of blood and treasure he and his family had been at, in support of the royal cause. He received, however, some accession of honor, being sworn of the privy-council, and made lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Lincoln, on the 16th of July, 1660.

Lord Lindsey's accession of honour.—Jacob's "Peerage," vol. I., p. 330.

On the 1st of April, 1661, he was elected a knight companion of the most noble order of the Garter, and installed at Windsor, on the sixteenth of the same month. At the King's coronation he was allowed his claim, as lord high chamberlain, and acted as such.

Montagu Bertie, Earl of Lindsey, and Lord Great Chamberlain of England, one of the Quadrumvirate that had been so eminently distinguish'd for their unparallelled Loyalty to the late King, a brave and experienc'd Soldier; a great Patron of useful Learning and Ingenuity, an honest, frugal, and faithful Englishman, and a true Patriot and Imitator of the ancient Nobility, whose Grandeur consisted neither in rich Cloaths, nor fine Courtship. After he had waded through an Ocean of Difficulties, he dy'd in Quiet, Peace, and Honour.

Lord Lindsey's character. One of the Quadrumvirate; the other 3 being, the Duke of Richmond and the Lords Hertford and Southampton. —Echard, vol. III., p. 153.

1666.

He died at Camden house, near Kensington, July 25th, 1666, and lies buried at Edenham, with his father.

Lord Lindsey's Death.—Jacob's, vol. I., p. 331.

Burke's "Peerage" for 1882, p. 801.

His lordship married, 1st, Martha, daughter of Sir William Cockain, of Rushton, co. Northampton, and widow of John Ramsay, Earl of Holderness, and by her (who died 1641), had issue, Robert, his successor, and Charles, of Uffington, co. Lincoln.

The Earl married, 2ndly, Bridget, daughter and heir of Edward Wray, Esq., by Lady Elizabeth Norris, his wife, only daughter and heir of Francis, Earl of Berkshire, and Baron Norris of Rycote, by whom he had James, who became Lord Norris in right of his mother, and was created Earl of Abingdon. Lord Lindsey was succeeded by his eldest son Robert.

Arms of Lord Lindsey.
(Ashmole's Order of the Garter.)

Robert Bertie, III. Earl of Lindsey, XIV. Lord Willoughby.

HEREDITARY LORD GREAT CHAMBERLAIN OF ENGLAND.

CHARLES II.
1666.
Honours given to Lord Lindsey.—Jacob's Peerage, vol. I., p. 331.

HE succeeded his father in July, A.D. 1666: he was on the 12th of December following sworn of His Majesty's Privy Council, probably in consequence of his hereditary office of Lord High or Great Chamberlain; and on the 19th of March, A.D. 1684, was appointed Lord-Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Lincoln.

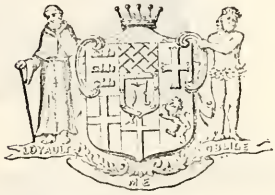
WILLIAM III.
1701.
Lord Lindsey's death.—Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 804.

His Lordship died in 1701.

WILLIAM III.
1701.

Jacob's Peerage, vol. I. p. 331.

BY his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter to Philip, Lord Wharton, he had Robert, his successor.



ARMS OF LORD LINDSEY.
(From his Monument in Edenham Church, Lincolnshire.)

Robert Bertie, I. Duke of Ancaster, IV. Earl of Lindsey, XV. Lord Willoughby.

HEREDITARY LORD GREAT CHAMBERLAIN OF ENGLAND.

WILLIAM III.
1701.
Honours given to the Duke of Ancaster.—Jacob's Peerage, vol. 1, pp. 331, 332

THIS Nobleman, while a Commoner, was returned to parliament in the years 1685, and 1688 for Boston, and in the following year for Preston. On the twenty-seventh of April, A.D. 1690, he took his seat in the House of Lords as Lord Willoughby of Eresby, by which he was summoned on the nineteenth preceding, to attend the King's business in the Upper House. He succeeded his father as Earl of Lindsey, &c. upon his death, which happened on the eighth of May, A.D. 1701; and was soon after sworn of the King's Privy Council, and appointed Lord-Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum for the county of Lincoln; in which honours he was continued upon the accession of Queen Anne. On the twenty-ninth of December, A.D. 1706, he was created Marquis of Lindsey, and on Her Majesty's decease was found to be one of the Lords Justices of the kingdom appointed by the King till his arrival from Hanover. His lordship was a firm friend to the Hanover succession, but in every other respect void of party. His affection to the King's person and interest drew from the throne fresh honours; for he was not only sworn of His Majesty's Privy Council, on the first of October, A.D. 1714, but was advanced to the Ducal dignity in the following year, by letters patent, bearing date July the twentieth, creating him Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven.

QUEEN ANNE.
1706.

GEORGE I.
1715.

The Duke died 26 July, 1723.

1723.
Death of the Duke of Ancaster.—Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 801.

Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 804.

HIS Grace married Mary, daughter of Sir Richard Wynn, Bart. of Gwydyr, by whom he had Peregrine, his successor.

ARMS OF THE DUKE OF ANCASTER.

(From a print of Grimsthorpe, his seat in Lincolnshire, now belonging to Clementina Baroness Willoughby.)

Peregrine Bertie, II. Duke of Ancaster, V. Earl of Lindsey, XVI. Lord Willoughby.

HEREDITARY LORD GREAT CHAMBERLAIN OF ENGLAND.

GEORGE I.
1723.
Honours given to the Duke of Ancaster.—Jacob's Peerage, vol. 1 p. 332.

WAS on the 14th of April, A.D. 1702, being then not sixteen years of age, appointed Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen; and that same year, in August, had the honour of attending Her Majesty to the University of Oxford, where he received the degree of Doctor of Laws. He represented the county of Lincoln in the three last parliaments of Queen Anne: and on the 16th of March, A.D. 1714-15, upon the accession of George I. he was called up by writ to the House of Lords, as Lord Willoughby of Eresby. This was the second mark of His Majesty's favour; for he had been, on the 1st of December, A.D. 1714, appointed Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Carnarvon. Upon his succession to the honours of his father, he was appointed and sworn of the Privy Council anew, having before, on the 23rd of November, A.D. 1708, after the union took place in the former reign, obtained a seat at that board. On the 3rd of February, A.D. 1724, His Grace was appointed Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Lincoln, and of the city of Lincoln, and county of the same, in which posts he was continued by George II. to whom he was also appointed Lord of the Pedelanber; and on the 30th of June, A.D. 1734, he was constituted Lord Warden and Justice in Eyre, of all His Majesty's parks, chases, and forests, north of Trent.

GEORGE II.

1742.
Death of the Duke of Ancaster.—Jacob's Peerage, vol. 1. p. 332.

His Grace departed this life on the 20th of February, A.D. 1742.

1742.
Burke's Extinct Peerage, p. 56.

THE Duke espoused Jane, one of the four daughters and co-heirs of Sir John Brownlow, Bart., of Belton, in the county of Lincoln, by whom he had—

Peregrine, his successor.

ARMS OF THE DUKE OF ANCASTER.
(From a chair at Grimsthorpe.)

Peregrine Bertie, III. Duke of Ancaster, VI. Earl of Lindsey, XVII. Lord Willoughby.

HEREDITARY LORD GREAT CHAMBERLAIN OF ENGLAND.

GEORGE II.
1743.
Honours given to the Duke of Ancaster.—Jacob's Peerage, vol. 1, page 333.

HIS Grace was, in 1743, sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed Lord-Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Lincoln; and in 1745, when the unnatural rebellion broke out in the North, His Grace was one of those loyal Noblemen, who, by the King's permission, raised regiments for His Majesty's service. That raised by the Duke of Ancaster in Lincolnshire consisted of very respectable persons; the officers especially were some of the principal gentlemen in the county, and His Grace was Colonel. On the 8th of March, A.D. 1755, he was promoted to the rank of Major-General in the army, and appointed Gentleman, or Lord of the King's Bed-chamber; and on the 3rd of February, A.D. 1759, he was advanced to the rank of Lieutenant-General. Upon the accession of His present Majesty, his posts were renewed, and that of the Bed-chamber included, which, however, His Grace afterwards resigned. His Grace is now Master of the Horse to the Queen, Recorder of Boston, Keeper of Waltham forest, in the county of Lincoln, and Lord Great Chamberlain by inheritance.

GEORGE III.
1778.
Death of the Duke of Ancaster. — Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 805.

His Grace died 12 August, 1778.

GEORGE III.
1778.

Burke's Extinct Peerage, p. 67.

HIS Grace married Mary, daughter of Thomas Panton, Esq., by whom he had Robert, his successor.

ARMS OF THE DUKE OF ANCASTER.

(From his Monument in Edenham Church, Lincolnshire).

Georgiana, Marchioness of Cholmondeley, (as Fame) crowning her Brother.

Robert Bertie, IV. Duke of Ancaster, VII. Earl of Lindsey, XVIII. Lord Willoughby.

HEREDITARY LORD GREAT CHAMBERLAIN OF ENGLAND.

GEORGE III.
1778.

AIDE-DE-CAMP to Gen. Clinton, now in America.

Lord-Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Lincoln, and one of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.

He died 8 July, 1779.

Annual Register for 1778, p. 226 of the Chronicle.
1779.
Honours given to the Duke of Ancaster.—Annual Register of the Chronicle, p. 247.
Death of the Duke of Ancaster.—Ledge's Genealogy of the British Peerage for 1802, p. 224.

GEORGE III.
1779.

Debrett's Peerage for 1883, p. 697.
Burke's Extinct Peerage, p. 67.
Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 805.
Lodge's Genealogy of the British Peerage for 1832, p. 225.
Burke's Peerage for 1882 p. 805.

Died unmarried 1779, when the Dukedom passed to his uncle,

Lord Brownlow Bertie, as V. Duke. His Grace died in 1809, when the Dukedoms of Ancaster and Kesteven, and the Marquisate of Lindsey, became extinct, but the Earldom of Lindsey reverted to his kinsman,

General Albemarle Bertie, as IX. Earl, eldest son of Peregrine Bertie, son of Charles, eldest son of the Hon. Charles Bertie, 5th son of Montagu II. Earl; married Elizabeth, daughter of the late Very Rev. Chas. P. Layard, D.D., dean of Bristol; and dying 17 Sept. 1818, left,

George, late Earl died unmarried 21 March, 1877.

Montagu present Earl of Lindsey married Felicia, daughter of the Revd. John Welby, and has issue,

Montagu, Lord Bertie.

Debrett's Peerage for 1883, p. 697.

The Barony of Willoughby fell into abeyance between his Grace's sisters, Priscilla, wife of 1st Baron Gwydyr, and Georgiana, wife of 1st Marquess of Cholmondeley, each of whom became Joint Hereditary Great Chamberlain; in 1780 the abeyance was terminated in favour of the former, Priscilla.

ARMS OF THE DUKE OF ANCASTER.

(From his Monument in Edenham Church, Lincolnshire).

Priscilla, Baroness Willoughby, Dowager Lady Gwydyr.

JOINT HEREDITARY GREAT CHAMBERLAIN OF ENGLAND.

Died 29 December, 1828.

GEORGE IV.
1828.

Death of Baroness Willoughby Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1371.

GEORGE IV.
1828.

Burke's Peerage for 1882, pp. 1370-71.

HER Ladyship married Peter Burrell, 1st Lord Gwydyr, by whom (who died 9 June, 1820) she had issue,

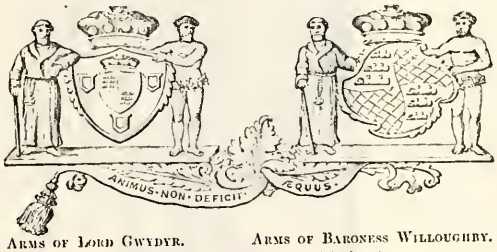
Peter Robert.

Lindsey, married Frances, daughter of the late James Daniell, Esq., and by her had issue,

Peter Robert, who succeeded his cousin as 4th Lord Gwydyr.

The Honourable Lindsey Burrell died 1 January, 1848.

Her ladyship was succeeded by her eldest son, Peter Robert, P.C.



ARMS OF LORD GWYDYR. ARMS OF BARONESS WILLOUGHBY.

(From the carpets in the drawing-rooms, at Grimsthorpe.)

Peter Robert Drummond Willoughby, XIX. Lord Willoughby, II. Lord Gwydyr.

JOINT HEREDITARY LORD GREAT CHAMBERLAIN OF ENGLAND.

GEORGE IV.

1829.

Lodge's Genealogy of the British Peerage, 1832 p.290.

QUEEN VICTORIA.

1865.

Lord Willoughby's death, Burke's Peerage, for 1884 p. 1371.

TOOK the surname and arms of Drummond by Royal sign manual in 1807, and in 1829 the additional surname and arms of Willoughby, instead of those of Burrell.

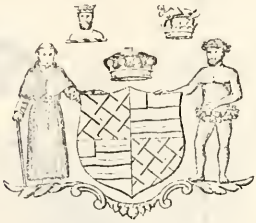
He died 22 February 1865.

QUEEN VICTORIA. 1865.

Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1371.

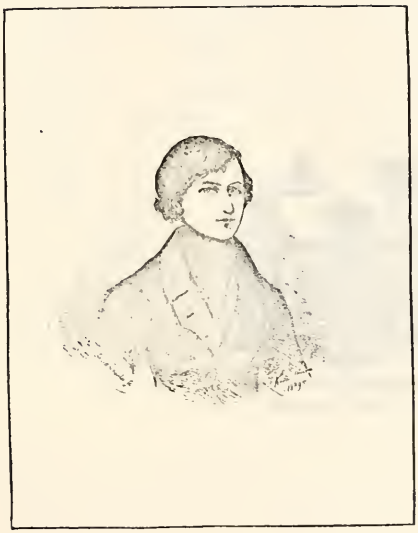
MARRIED 19 October 1807, Clementina, daughter and sole heiress of James Drummond, 1st Lord Perth (a dignity now extinct), by whom (who died 26 January 1865) he had issue,

Alberic, 20th Lord Willoughby.



ARMS OF LORD WILLOUGHBY.

(From Burke's Peerage for 1866.)



Alberic Drummond Willoughby, XX. Lord Willoughby,
III. Lord Gwydyr.

JOINT HEREDITARY LORD GREAT CHAMBERLAIN OF ENGLAND.

DIED 26 August 1870.

QUEEN VICTORIA
1870.
Lord Willoughby's death.—Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1371.

QUEEN VICTORIA. 1870.

Burke's Peerage for 1882 p. 602.

HIS lordship died unmarried, and was succeeded in the Barony of Gwydyr by his cousin and next male heir, Peter Robert, present Lord Gwydyr.

Debrett's Peerage for 1882. p. 998.

The Barony of Willoughby became abeyant between his sisters, Clementina, wife of 1st Baron Aveland, and Charlotte, wife of 2nd Baron Carrington, each of whom became entitled to a moiety of the office of Joint Hereditary Great Chamberlain; in 1871 the abeyance was terminated in favour of Clementina, the present peeress.

ARMS OF LORD WILLOUGHBY.
(From Burke's Peerage for 1866.)

Clementina, Baroness Willoughby, Dowager Lady Aveland.

JOINT HEREDITARY GREAT CHAMBERLAIN OF ENGLAND.

QUEEN VICTORIA, 1870.

ASSUMED 1870 by royal licence the additional surname and arms of Drummond.

Debrett's Peerage for 1883, p. 697.

The Queen has been pleased to grant unto Clementina Heathcote-Drummond, Baroness Willoughby de Eresby, widow of Gilbert Heathcote, Baron Aveland, of Aveland, in the county of Lincoln, Her Royal licence and authority that she may take the surname of Willoughby, in addition to and after that of Heathcote-Drummond, and bear the arms of Willoughby, quarterly with those of Drummond, and that the said surnames of Drummond and Willoughby may in like manner be taken, borne, and used in addition to and after that of Heathcote, by her present and future issue, and that they may bear and use the arms of Drummond and Willoughby quarterly with their paternal arms of Heathcote.

1872.

The London Gazette, May 7, 1872.

QUEEN VICTORIA. 1883.

Debrett's Peerage for 1883, pp. 697, 47.

MARRIED 1827, the 1st Lord Aveland, who died 1867, and has issue,

Gilbert Heathcote Drummond Willoughby Baron Aveland, P.C., Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain; married 1863, Lady Evelyn Gordon, daughter of 10th Marquess of Huntly, and has issue,

Hon. Gilbert.

ARMS OF BARONESS WILLOUGHBY AND AS DOWAGER LADY AVELAND.

(From a drawing by Sir Albert Woods.)

PART II.

LINEAGE OF THE CONSORTS.

Alice Beke.

AMONGST the companions in arms of the Conqueror, was,

Walter Bee, who, although enjoying a fair inheritance in Normandy, embarked zealously in the enterprize against England, and obtained upon the triumph of his master a grant of the manor of Eresby, in the county of Lincoln, with other important lordships. This Walter married Agnes, daughter and heiress of Hugh, the son of Pinco, (one of the chiefs in Duke William's army,) commonly called Hugh Dapifer, and had issue—

Lineage of Bee or Beke —Barons Beke of Eresby. By Writ of Summons, 1295. 23rd Edward I.—Burke's Latinct Peerage, pp. 41-46.

Henry Beke, inherited Eresby, and other manors, and was succeeded by his son,

Walter Beke, who married Eva, niece of Walter de Grey, Archbishop of York, and was succeeded by his son,

John Beke, who gave to King John a hundred pounds and four palfreys, for license to marry the widow of William Bardolph. This feudal lord was succeeded by his son,

Henry Beke, who married Hawyse, sister of Thomas de Muleton. To this feudal Baron of Eresby, succeeded his son,

Walter Beke, who left three sons, viz.—

John, his successor in the lordship of Eresby.

Anthony, (says Dugdale,) "in anno 1283, was then consecrated Bishop of Durham. In 33rd of Edward I. the Pope advanced him to the title of Patriarch of Jerusalem, and he died on 3rd of March, 1310."

Thomas, Bishop of St. David's.

John Beke, succeeded his father in the feudal lordship of Eresby, and was summoned to Parliament as Baron Beke, of Eresby, 1295, having previously (4th of Edward I.) had license to make a castle of his manor house at Eresby. His lordship married ———, and had issue,

Walter, his successor,

ALICE, married to Sir William Willoughby, Knt.

Margaret, married to Sir Richard de Harcourt, Knt., ancestor of the Harcourts, Earls of Harcourt.

Lord Beke, died in 1302, and was succeeded by his son,

Walter, II. Baron, but never summoned to Parliament; at whose decease without issue, the Barony of Beke de Eresby fell into abeyance, between his two sisters and co-heirs, the Ladies Willoughby and Harcourt.

Margaret Deincourt.

NICOLAS'S Siege of Carlaverock, p. 304.

EDMUND DEINCOURT, I. LORD DEINCOURT married Isabel, the daughter of Reginald Mohun, and by her had MARGARET, who married Robert Willoughby, I. Lord Willoughby.

Joan Rosceline.

Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1370.

Daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Rosceline, Knt., married John Willoughby, II. Lord Willoughby.

Cecilie de Ufford.

Lineage of de Ufford Barons Ufford, Earls of Suffolk. Barony, by Writ of Summons, dated January, 1308, 2 Edward II. Earldom, by Creation in Parliament, March 1337.—Burke's Extinct Peerage, pp. 526, 527.

Sir Robert de Ufford, Knt., who was summoned to Parliament as a Baron from 1308 to 1311. He married Cecily, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir Robert de Valoines, Knt., and had issue,

Robert de Ufford, II. Baron, K.G. This nobleman obtained, in the beginning of Edward III.'s reign, in requital of his eminent services, a grant for life of the town and Castle of Orford, in the county of Suffolk, and soon after, further considerable territorial possessions. In the 11th year of the same reign his Lordship was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Suffolk. He was, subsequently, elected a Knight of the Garter. His Lordship married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Norwich, and had issue,

William, his successor.

CECILIE, married William, III. Lord Willoughby de Eresby.

Catherine, married Robert, Lord Scales.

Margaret, married William, Lord Ferrers, of Groby.

His lordship was succeeded by his only surviving son,

William de Ufford, II. Earl of Suffolk. Being chosen by the Commons in Parliament assembled, to represent to the Lords certain matters of importance to the public welfare, the Earl, while ascending the steps to their Lordships' House, suddenly fell down dead, on the 15th February, 1382. His Lordship having no issue, the Earldom of Suffolk became extinct, while the original Barony of Ufford fell into abeyance, between his sisters and heirs.

Alice Skipwith.

Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1184.

SIR WILLIAM SKIPWITH was M.P. for York: he was first chosen one of the King's Serjeants, and in the 33rd of Edward III., made a Judge of the Common Pleas. In three years afterwards, he was sworn in Lord-Chief-Baron of the Exchequer, from which office he was removed in 1365; he was reinstated a Judge, and made Chief Justice of Ireland, 25th April, 1371: he retired in 1373, and was again a Judge of the Common Pleas in England, from 8th October, 1377 till 1388, he died 1391. His Lordship married Alice, only daughter and heir of Sir William de Hiltoft, Lord of Ingoldnells, and had issue.

ALICE, married to Robert Willoughby, IV. Lord Willoughby.

Lucy Strange.

Burke's Peerage for 1882, p 1370.

Daughter of Roger, Lord Strange of Knockyn, married William Willoughby, V. Lord Willoughby, K.G.

Elizabeth Montacute.

Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1370.

Daughter of John Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, married Robert Willoughby, VI. Lord Willoughby, K.G.

Richard Welles, VII. Lord Welles.

Son of Leo Welles, VI. Lord Welles, K.G., married Joan Willoughby, Baroness Willoughby, daughter and heir of Robert Willoughby, VI. Lord Willoughby, K.G. Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1370.

Richard Hastings.

SIR LEONARD HASTINGS was Sheriff for the counties of Warwick and Leicester, A.D. 1454, and died 2 years after, leaving issue by his wife Alice, daughter of Thomas, Lord Camoys, Jacob's Peerage, vol. I., p. 467.

William Hastings, Baron Hastings, K.G.

RICHARD HASTINGS, who married JOANE Welles, Baroness Welles and Willoughby, daughter and heir of Richard Welles, VII. Lord Welles and Willoughby, and heir to her brother Robert, VIII. Lord Welles.

Joan Arundell.

Daughter and co-heir of Sir Richard Arundell, Knt., (son of John Fitz-Alan, Lord Maltravers, 2nd son of Richard Fitz-Alan, III. Earl of Arundel,*) married Sir Thomas Willoughby, 2nd and younger son of William, V. Lord Willoughby, K.G. Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1370. Burke's Extinct Peerage, p. 576.

Cecilie Welles.

ADAM WELLES, who, in the 22nd Edward I., was in the wars of Gascony, and was summoned to Parliament, as a Baron, on the 6th of February, 1299, in which year he was made Constable of Rockingham Castle, and Warden of the Forest. The next year he was in the wars of Scotland, and again in 1301 and 1302; and had regular summonses to Parliament to the year of his decease, 1311, when he was succeeded by his son, Lineage of Welles, Barons Welles. By Writ of Summons, dated 6th February, 1299, 27 Edward I.—Burke's Extinct Peerage, pp. 561, 562.

Robert Welles, II. Baron. This Nobleman died anno 1320, and leaving no issue, was succeeded by his brother,

Adam Welles, III. Baron. In the 7th Edward III. his Lordship was in the wars of Scotland, and again in 2 years afterwards, at which latter period he was a Knight. In the 16th of the same reign he was charged with 10 men at arms, and 10 archers for the King's service in France. His Lordship died in 1345, and was succeeded by his son,

John Welles, IV. Baron. His Lordship had livery of his lands in the 29th of Edward III., and in 4 years afterwards he was in the wars of Gascony. He died in 1361, and was succeeded by his son,

John Welles, V. Baron. This Nobleman served in the expedition made into Flanders, in the retinue of John, Duke of Lancaster, in the 27th of Edward III., and in the 1st Richard II., was in the wars of France. The next year he was in the garrison of Berwick, under Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, its Governor. His Lordship subsequently obtained license to travel beyond sea, and returning in the 8th Richard II., had leave to go abroad again. After this we find him in the Scottish wars; and in the 19th of the same reign, he was Ambassador to Scotland, where during his sojourn, being at a banquet, where deeds of arms becoming the subject of conversation, his Lordship exclaimed, "Let words have no place; if ye know not the chivalry and valiant deeds of Englishmen; appoint me a day and place when ye list, and ye shall have experience." This challenge was immediately accepted by David, Earl of Crawford, and London Bridge appointed as

* By his wife Lady Eleanor Plantagenet, daughter of Henry Earl of Lancaster, grandson of Henry III.—[Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. xcv.]

Lineage of Welles, Barons Welles. — Burke's Extinct Peerage, pp. 661, 662.

the place of combat. The battle was fought on St. George's day, and the Scottish Earl was declared victor. Indeed he displayed such an extraordinary degree of prowess, that notwithstanding the spear was broken upon his helmet and visage, he remained so immovably fixed in his saddle, that the spectators cried out that in defiance of the laws of arms, he was bound thereto. Whereupon he dismounted, and got up again, and ran a second course; but in the third, Lord Welles was unhorsed and flung to the ground; on which Crawford dismounting, embraced him, that the people might understand that he had no animosity, and the Earl subsequently visited his Lordship with great courtesy until his recovery. Of this Lord Welles nothing further is known, than the period of his decease, anno 1421. Lord Welles was succeeded by (the son of his deceased eldest son, Eudo, by his wife, Maude, daughter of Ralph, Lord Greystock) his grandson,

Sir Leo Welles, as VI. Baron Welles, K.G. This Nobleman received the honour of Knighthood, in the 4th of Henry VI., from the Duke of Bedford at Leicester, with the young King himself, and divers other persons of rank. His Lordship for several years after served with great honour in France, and was made Lieutenant of Ireland for seven years, in the 16th of the same reign. When the fatal feud between the Houses of York and Lancaster broke out, Lord Welles arrayed himself under the banner of the latter, and adhering to his colours with unbending fidelity, fell at the battle of Towton Field, on Palm Sunday, 1461. His Lordship married Joane, daughter and heir of Sir Robert Waterton, Knt., and had issue,

Richard, (Sir) who married JOAN, daughter and heir of Robert, Lord Willoughby de Eresby, and was summoned to Parliament in her right, as Lord Willoughby.

Alianore, married to Thomas, Lord Hoo and Hastings.

Margaret, married to Sir Thomas Dymoke, Knt.

CECILIE, married to Sir Robert Willoughby, son of Sir Thomas Willoughby.

Catherine, married to Sir Thomas de Launde, Knt.

An attainder followed his Lordship's decease, under which the Barony of Welles became forfeited: but his son,

Richard Welles, VII. Lord Welles and VII. Lord Willoughby, in 1468 obtained a full restitution in blood and honours. But this good fortune had a brief endurance, for he and his only son were beheaded almost at the same time in 1469. Lord Welles and Willoughby had issue, by the heiress of Willoughby,

Robert (Sir).

Joane.

His Lordship was succeeded by his son,

Robert Welles, VIII. Lord Welles and VIII. Lord Willoughby, beheaded in 1469, and leaving no issue, was succeeded by his only sister,

Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1370.

Joane Welles, Baroness Welles and Willoughby, married Sir Richard Hastings, her Ladyship died s. p. in 1506, when the Barony of Willoughby reverted to her kinsman William Willoughby, the great great grandson of William Willoughby, V. Lord Willoughby, as X. Lord Willoughby.

Margaret Jenney.

Burke's Peerage for 1882 p. 1370.

Daughter of Sir William Jenney, of Knottshall, Suffolk, married Sir Christopher Willoughby, great grandson of William, V. Lord Willoughby, K.G.

Lady Mary Salines.

(A Spaniard, who had been Maid of Honour to Queen Catherine, first wife of King Henry VIII.,) married William Willoughby, X. Lord Willoughby, great great grandson of William, V. Lord Willoughby, K.G. Collins's Peerage, vol. v., p. 74.

Catharine of Aragon in a letter that she wrote to her father, King Ferdinand, in the month of September, 1505, shows the need of money to which she was reduced. Catharine of Aragon, by Albert du Boys, vol. i., pp. 87-88.

In this letter she speaks of a marriage proposal for Donna Maria de Salazar, a member of one of the most illustrious families in Spain.

"Most high and most puissant Lord,

"It is known to your highness how Donna Maria de Salazar was lady to the Queen my lady, who is in blessed glory, and how her highness sent her to come with me; and in addition to the service which she did to her highness, she has served me well, and in all this has done as a worthy woman. Wherefore I supplicate your highness that, as well on account of the one service as the other, you would command her to be paid, since I have nothing wherewith to pay her, and also because her sister, the wife of Monsieur d'Aymeria, has in view for her a marriage in Flanders, of which she cannot avail herself, nor hope that it can be accomplished, without knowing what the said Donna Maria has for a marriage-portion. Wood's Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies, vol. I., p. 128.

"And thus I myself supplicate your highness to command her to be favoured, that she may recover that which her father captain Salazar gave her, and that which belonged to her of her property. And in reference to a privilege which your highness did the favour to grant to captain Salazar of two hundred milreas as a pension for him, and after his days for this his daughter, that your highness would command entire justice to be observed towards her, and, because I wished it, would send a power to Martin Sanchez de Camudio to recover all that belonged to her. Therefore I supplicate your highness that you will send to command him, because he is near the house of her father, and may be able to negotiate it well. In all that which has been said your highness will do me most signal favour, and in causing it to be done quickly, in order that Donna Maria de Salazar may not lose this marriage, which is most good and honourable. Our Lord guard the life and most royal estate of your highness, and increase it as I desire.

"From Durham [house], the eighth of September.

"The humble servant of your highness,

"who kisses your hands,

"THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

"To the most high and most puissant lord the (king)
my lord."

Endorsed, "To his highness from the Princess of Wales, 8th September, 1505."

Albert du Boys, vol. I., pp. 88,89.

But it was not the will of Providence that Maria de Salazar should be married in Flanders, and thus be separated from Catharine. She remained in England, and gained the affections of the rich heir of the ancient house of Willoughby de Eresby. The noble Lord married her without inquiring whether she had any marriage portion.

Albert du Boys, vol. II., p. 277.

Donna Maria de Salazar never ceased to keep up a communication with her distant relation, the unhappy Queen. Her consent to pay but very few visits, according to the King's desire, was very likely intended to secure admission at the last.

Ladies of the Reformation, by the Rev. James Anderson, p. 316,317.

Mary of Salines was devotedly attached to Queen Katharine, to whom she clung with unwavering fidelity and affection amidst all the fluctuations of the fortunes of that ill-treated Queen. To evince attachment to Katharine after her disgrace was not without peril; it was to condemn Henry's conduct in disgracing her, and therefore to provoke his wrath. But this lady's affection for her mistress was stronger than her dread of the fury of the Monarch. Hearing that Katharine was drawing near her last hour in this world, in the agony of grief, she made every effort to obtain permission to visit her, though Henry had interdicted the free intercourse of his divorced Queen with her former friends. She wrote a letter to Cromwell, who was at that time the great favourite of Henry, humbly supplicating this permission. "And now, Mr. Secretary," says she, "need driveth me to put you to pain, for I heard say that my mistress is very "sore sick again; wherefore, good Mr. Secretary, I pray you remember me of your "goodness, for you did promise me to labour the King's Grace to get me license to go to "her Grace afore God send for her; for, as I am informed, there is no other likelihood but it "shall be shortly. And if so be that the King's Grace of his goodness be content that I "shall go thither, without I have a letter of his Grace, or else of you, to show the officers "of my mistress's house that his Grace is content with my going, my license shall stand "to none effect. And as touching that, there is nobody can help me so well as you. "Mr. Secretary, under God and the King, all my trust is in you. I pray you remember "me now at this time. And so Jesus have you in his keeping. From the Barbican, the

"30th day of December. By your beadwoman, Mary Willoughby." In this letter she prudently styles Katharine simply "my Mistress," and "her Grace," not giving her the title of "Queen," which would certainly have defeated her object, nor the title of "Princess-Dowager," a title which Katharine, though earnestly urged, had constantly refused to assume. The prayer of this petition, it would appear, was not granted.

Lady Willoughby mounted her horse, although it was very cold, snowing, and the roads bad. A short distance from Kimbolton she had a fall, but mounted again at once, and valiantly pursued her way. She arrived at six in the evening, when it was dark, covered with mud, and very weary. Governor Bedingfield began by asking her if she had a written permission to visit the Princess Dowager, for such was the official title of Catharine. She answered that she would get leave afterwards, but in her present condition her chief need was to get warm herself, and arrange her dress. After resting a little, she insisted on being conducted to the Queen's bedside. Bedingfield did not dare to refuse. This was the 1st of January, 1536. No doubt she wished Catharine a happy New Year, not to be spent on earth, but in heaven. Meanwhile she poured a little balm upon the cruel wounds. She spoke to the Queen in Castillian, their native tongue, not understood by the other women present. They must have exchanged some sweet recollections of youth and home, like a beam of Spanish sunshine come to brighten the death bed.

Albert du Boys, vol. II. pp. 277, 278.

Eustachius Capucius, or Chapuis, the Spanish Ambassador, reached Kimbolton next day, January 2nd. He had his permit in form, and penetrated without difficulty to Catharine's chamber, where he remained about a quarter of an hour. Bedingfield was with him, but did not understand the talk of the Queen and the Ambassador, as he knew no Spanish.

Lady Willoughby had no permit to show. But she had managed to secure her place by Catharine's bed, and would not be removed till she had closed the eyes of her royal friend. For three or four days more Catharine was perfectly conscious. She thus was enabled to receive the last sacrament with great fervour. For a short time her physician entertained hopes, but the improvement was transitory. On the morning of January 7th the breathing became laboured, the tongue swelled; extreme unction was administered at about ten o'clock. At two in the afternoon the Queen breathed her last in the presence of Eustace Chapuys and Lady Willoughby.

Albert du Boys, vol. II, pp. 278, 279.

Catharine's will shows how carefully she kept her accounts. She forgot none of her little current debts, not even her laundress's. And she also left several legacies that show her piety and gratitude to those who had been faithful to her.

Richard Bertie, Esq.

THIS Family originally came into England from Bertiland in Prussia, when the Saxons invaded this nation; and by the gift of one of the Saxon Kings had a castle, and also a town, which was denominated from them Bertiestad, now Bersted, near Maidstone in Kent; Sted and Stad denoting in the Saxon language, a town.

Lineage of the Bertie.—Collins's Peerage, vol. I part II., pp. 494, 495.

It appears from an old manuscript in the Cotton Library, that Leopold de Bertie was Constable of Dover Castle in the reign of King Ethelred, from whom descended Hieronymus de Bertie, founder, or at least a great benefactor to one of the monasteries in Kent, the north part of which he built at his own expense, and himself was buried in a chapel there, where these arms were put up against a pillar, viz., Three Battering Rams in Pale.

The said Leopold quarrelling with the monks of St. Austin at Canterbury, about tythes, and the monks endeavouring to carry them off by force of arms, a fight began, wherein a son of Leopold's was slain; of which he complained to the King, but receiving no satisfaction, he flew to Swain, King of the Danes, for to aid him, who invaded the kingdom with a powerful fleet, which was divided into two Squadrons, one steering towards Northumberland, and the other for Kent, where they joined Leopold's Forces, and laid siege to Canterbury, which they took in the year 1011, leading the Archbishop

Lineage of the Bertie.—Collins's Peerage, vol. I., part II., pp. 495—498.

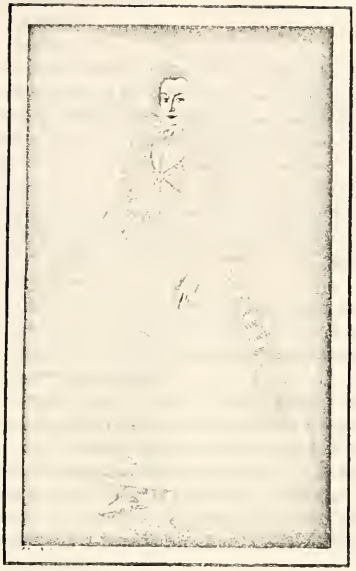
away captive. But Swain dying, the scale soon turned, for Ethelred miserably persecuted the Danes, and Burbach Bertie, the only surviving son of Leopold, conscious of his father's actions, went to Robert, King of France, who received him honourably, and taking to wife a French woman, settled there, where his posterity continued till the year 1154, when Philip Bertie, with his family, accompanied King Henry II. into England, and by that Prince's favour, recovered his patrimony in Bersted.

This Philip had issue Martin, who was father of Robert, who had issue William, who had issue Edward, who was father of Jerome Bertie, who lived at Bersted aforesaid, in the reign of King Henry V.

This Jerome, one Sunday in Lent, hearing a monk in a church exclaiming against the murder occasioned by his ancestor, rushed in upon him, and slew him; for which rash act he was excommunicated by the Archbishop, from which he could not be absolved at any rate; so he went to Rome, where he obtained absolution with this injunction, viz., To hear in the monastery of Canterbury, mass publickly on a Sunday; then to ask first of the Archbishop, and then of the monks, pardon; then to be absolved, and to receive the sacrament, and to give to the convent two pieces of gold, as the fruit of his repentance, and for the souls of his ancestors. He afterwards became a benefactor, by new building, at his own charge, their church, by which (as my author saith) he much impaired his fortune on earth, but by it he obtained a greater in Heaven.

To this Jerome succeeded Robert de Bertie, his son and heir, who had issue a son of his own name, Robert, father of William Bertie, who by his wife, a daughter of — Pepper, had issue Thomas Bertie, of Bersted in Kent, Esq; who was Captain of Hurst Castle, in the Isle of Wight, the latter end of the reign of Henry the Seventh, and was living in the reign of King Edward the 6th, as appears in a grant of his arms, and crest, bearing date 10 July, 4 Edward VI. by Thomas Hawley, Clarenceux King of Arms; wherein he certifies, That he was descended of an House undefamed, was then Captain of Hurst Castle for the King's Majesty, and had of a long time used himself in feats of arms and good works; so that he was worthy in all places of honour to be admitted, numbered and taken in the company of other nobles, &c. By his wife a daughter of — Say, of the county of Salop, he had issue Richard Bertie, Esq., who married Catherine Willoughby, Baroness Willoughby, daughter and heir of William Willoughby, X. Lord Willoughby, widow of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, K.G.

He died in the 61th year of his age, on the 9th of April, 1582, having survived his Duchess two years, she deceasing on the 19th of September, 1580, leaving issue by him an only son, Peregrine Bertie, XI. Lord Willoughby.



Lady Mary de Vere.

THE first mention of this noble and ancient family is in the general survey of England made by William the Conqueror, wherein

Lineage of de Vere, Earls of Oxford, Marquess of Dublin, Duke of Ireland, Earldom anno 1135, creation of the Empress Maud, and confirmed by Henry II. Marquisate 1386, Dukedom 1387, creations of Richard II.—Burke's Extinct Peerage, pp. 535, 536.

Alberic de Ver is stated to have possessed numerous Lordships in the different shires. This Alberic married Beatrix, daughter of Henry Castellan of Bourbourg, and was succeeded by his son,

Alberic de Vere, who, being in high favour with King Henry I., was constituted by that monarch Lord High Chamberlain of England, to hold the same in fee, to himself and his heirs, with all dignities and liberties thereunto appertaining, as fully and honourably as Robert Malet, Lord of the honour of Eye, in Suffolk, who had then been banished and disinherited, had holden the said office. His Lordship married Adeliza, daughter of Gilbert de Clare, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

Aubrey de Vere, who, for his fidelity to the Empress Maud, was confirmed by that Princess in the Lord Chamberlainship, and all his father's great territorial possessions. His Lordship was created Earl of Oxford, with the usual grant to Earls, of the third penny

Lineage of de Vere, Earls of Oxford—Burke's Extinct Peerage, pp. 536, 537.

of the pleas of the county. The Earl married Lucia, daughter and heiress of William de Abrincis, by whom he had,

Aubrey, } Successively Earls of Oxford.
Robert, }

His Lordship died in 1194, and was succeeded by his elder son,

Aubrey de Vere, II. Earl of Oxford, and Lord Great Chamberlain. This nobleman was Sheriff of Essex and Herefordshire, from the 10th to the 15th of King John, inclusive,—and was reputed one of the evil councillors of that monarch. His Lordship died in 1214, and having no issue, was succeeded by his brother,

Robert de Vere, III. Earl of Oxford, and Lord Great Chamberlain. This nobleman pursuing a different course from that of his deceased brother, was one of the celebrated twenty-five Barons appointed to enforce the observance of Magna Charta. He married Isabel, daughter of Hugh, and sister and heir of Walter de Bolebec, by whom he had issue,

Hugh, his successor.

The Earl died in 1221, and was succeeded by his son,

Hugh de Vere, IV. Earl of Oxford, and Lord Great Chamberlain. The Earl married Hawise, daughter of Leyer de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, and at his death, in 1263, left an only son, his successor,

Robert de Vere, V. Earl of Oxford, and Lord Great Chamberlain. This nobleman having arrayed himself under the banner of Montfort, Earl of Leicester, was amongst those who were surprised with young Hugh de Montfort at Kenilworth, a few days before the battle of Evesham, and taken prisoner; but he made his peace soon after, under the "Dictum of Kenilworth," and we find him employed by King Edward I. against the Welsh, in the 11th of that monarch's reign. His Lordship married Alice, daughter and heiress of Gilbert, Lord Saundford, and had, with other issue,

Robert, his successor.

Alphonsus, married Jane, daughter of Sir Richard Foliot, Knt., and had a son,

John, who succeeded as VII. Earl of Oxford.

The Earl died in 1296, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

Robert de Vere, VI. Earl of Oxford, and Lord Great Chamberlain. This nobleman took part in the wars of Scotland, in the 24th and 27th of Edward I. His Lordship dying in 1331, without issue, his honours devolved upon his nephew,

John de Vere, as VII. Earl of Oxford, and Lord Great Chamberlain. This nobleman, who was a military personage of great renown, shared in all the glories of Edward III.'s martial reign. When he succeeded to the Earldom, he had but just attained his eighteenth year,—and very soon afterwards we find him with the army in Scotland, where he appears to have been engaged for some years. In the 14th Edward III. he attended the King into Flanders. In the 16th year he was again in the wars of France; to which service he brought 40 Men-at-Arms (himself included), 1 Banneret, 9 Knights, 29 Esquires, and 30 Archers on horseback, and had an allowance of 56 sacks of wool, for the wages of himself and his retinue. The next year he accompanied Henry de Lancaster, Earl of Derby, and divers other great personages, into Scotland, for raising the siege of Loughmaban Castle. And in the 18th he was in Gascony, at the surrender of Bergerath; after which, proceeding to assault the Castle of Pellegrue, he was taken prisoner in his tent, but soon after exchanged for the Viscount de Bonquentyne,—when he marched with the Earl of Derby to Attveroche, then besieged by the French, and relieved it. "But about the feast of the Blessed Virgin" (writes Dugdale), "returning out of Britanny, he was by tempest cast

upon the coast of Connaught, in Ireland, where he and all his company suffered much misery from those barbarous people there, who pillaged them of all they had."

Lineage of the Vere, Earls of Oxford.—Burke's Extinct Peerage, pp. 537, 538

His Lordship returned to France soon after this event, and continued with little interruption, during the remainder of his life, actively and gallantly engaged in the wars in that country. He was one of the heroes of Cressy, and he had a command upon the glorious field of Poictiers. He eventually lost his life from fatigue, in the English army encamped before the walls of Rheims, on the 14th January, 1360. The Earl married Maud, sister and heiress of Giles, Lord Badlesmere, by whom he had issue,

Thomas, his successor.

Aubrey, who, upon the reversal of the attainder of his nephew, Robert, Duke of Ireland, succeeded as X. Earl of Oxford (of this nobleman presently).

His Lordship was succeeded by his eldest son,

Thomas de Vere, VIII. Earl of Oxford, and Lord Great Chamberlain. Of this nobleman little more is mentioned than his being engaged in foreign warfare like his father, but not with the same renown. His Lordship married Maud, daughter of Sir Ralph de Ufford, and was succeeded at his decease, in 1371, by his only son,

Robert de Vere, IX. Earl of Oxford, and Lord Great Chamberlain. This nobleman doing homage, and making proof of his age, in the 6th of Richard II., had livery of his lands. His Lordship becoming subsequently the favourite of that weak and unfortunate Prince, was advanced to a new dignity in the peerage, by the title of Marquess of Dublin, in which he had summons to Parliament on the 8th August, 1386, and in the next year, within a few months, he was created Duke of Ireland. Those high honours exciting the jealousy of the nobles, several of the great Lords assembled at Haringhay House, Middlesex, and evinced open hostility to the royal minion. From thence, at the desire of the King, who became alarmed, they transferred their deliberations to Westminster, and in reply to an interrogatory put to them by the Bishop of Ely, then Lord Chancellor, they demanded that the King should dismiss the traitors that surrounded him, amongst whom they particularised "Robert Vere, Duke of Ireland." For the moment, however, Richard allayed this tumult by fair promises, but De Vere not considering himself safe, soon after effected his escape, in disguise, to the continent, accompanied by Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk. He subsequently returned to England, at the head of four or five thousand men, and marching into Oxfordshire, was met at Radcote Bridge, on the river Isis, by the Earl of Derby and Duke of Gloucester, where his troops being surrounded, he could secure personal safety only by abandoning his sword, gauntlets, and armour, and thus swimming down the stream. In a Parliament soon after convened, through the influence of the nobles, the Duke not appearing to a citation, was sentenced to banishment, and at the same time outlawed and attainted. Upon his decease, s. p. 1392, the representation of the family reverted to his uncle,

Aubrey de Vere, who, in the 16th Richard II., was, by consent of Parliament, restored to all those lands which had been, by fine, entailed previously to the attainder of the deceased Duke; having the Earldom of Oxford likewise restored to himself, and the heirs male of his body. His Lordship in consequence took his seat in the House of Peers as X. Earl; but the office of Lord High Chamberlain, so long in the Vere family, was bestowed by the King, owing to the restored Lord being infirm, upon John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, for life. The infirmities of his Lordship continuing, he had special license to absent himself from the Parliament held at Shrewsbury, in the 21st of Richard II.; in which the judgment passed 10 years previously against his nephew, the Duke of Ireland,

Lineage of de Vere, Earls of Oxford.—Burke's Extinct Peerage, pp. 558, 559.

was revoked and annulled. The Earl married Alice, daughter of John, Lord FitzWalter and had issue,

Richard, his successor.

His Lordship died in 1400, and was succeeded by his son,

Richard de Vere, XI. Earl of Oxford, K.G. This nobleman was 14 years of age at the decease of his father, and had a grant of one hundred pounds a year, out of his own lands for his maintenance during his minority. The Earl married Alice, daughter of Sir John Sergeant, Knt., and had issue,

John, his successor,

Robert, married Joane, daughter of Sir Hugh Courtenay, and had issue,

John de Vere, who married Alice, daughter of Walter Kelrington, and left a son,

John, who succeeded as XV. Earl of Oxford.

His Lordship, who had been in the French wars, and was honoured with the Garter, died in 1417, and was succeeded by his elder son,

John de Vere, XII. Earl of Oxford. In the 4th of Henry VI., his Lordship had the honour of Knighthood conferred upon him by that monarch, at Leicester, when the King himself received a similar honour at the hands of his uncle, the Duke of Bedford. In the 13th, his Lordship obtained license to travel towards the Holy Land, with 12 persons of his company; and to take with him an hundred pounds in money, and to receive five hundred marks more by way of exchange. After this we find the Earl joined in commission with John, Duke of Norfolk, and others, to treat with Charles de Valoys, or his Ambassadors, touching a peace with France; and during the whole reign of Henry VI., being a stanuch Lancastrian, always enjoying the confidence of the crown; but upon the accession of Edward IV., sharing the fate of his party, he was attainted in the first Parliament of that monarch, with his eldest son, Aubrey, and beheaded on Tower Hill, anno 1461.

His Lordship married Elizabeth, only daughter and heiress of Sir John Howard (uncle by the half blood of John Howard, I. Duke of Norfolk), and heiress through her grandmother, Margaret, daughter of Sir John de Platz, to the Barony of Platz, by whom he had issue,

Aubrey, beheaded with his father, 1st of Edward IV.,

John, restored as XIII. Earl,

George (Sir), married Margaret, daughter and heiress of William Stafford, Esq., and had issue,

John, who inherited as XIV. Earl of Oxford.

Upon the attainder and execution of John, XII. Earl of Oxford, all the honours of the family expired, but his Lordship's second and eldest surviving son,

John de Vere, was restored as XIII. Earl of Oxford, K.G., during the temporary triumph of the House of Lancaster, in the 10th of Edward IV. But his Lordship, with Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, being soon after totally routed by the Yorkists, at Barnet, and King Edward re-established upon the throne, himself and his brother, Sir George Vere, were attainted, but pardoned as to their lives. Subsequently escaping from prison, and ardently embarking in the cause of Henry, Earl of Richmond, he commanded the archers of the vanguard at Bosworth Field, and there mainly contributed, by his valour and skill, to the victory which terminated the bloody and procrastinated contest between the Houses of York and Lancaster. Upon the accession of King Henry VIII., the Earl of Oxford was restored to the office of Lord Great Chamberlain of England, originally granted to his ancestor, Aubrey de Vere, by King Henry I. The Earl, who, was a Knight of the Garter,

died s. p. in 1513, and was succeeded by (the eldest son of his deceased brother, Sir George Vere) his nephew,

Lineage of de Vere, Earls of Oxford.—Burke's Extinct Peerage, pp. 539, 541.

John de Vere, as XIV. Earl of Oxford, commonly called, "Little John of Campes," from his diminutive stature, and residence at Castle Campes, in Cambridgeshire. He died s. p. in 1526, when the Earldom of Oxford passed to his cousin and heir-at-law (refer to descendants of the Hon. Robert Vere, 2nd son of Richard, XI. Earl),

John de Vere, as XV. Earl of Oxford, K.G., and Lord Great Chamberlain. This nobleman married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Edward Trussel, Knt., by whom he had issue,

John, his successor,

Aubrey, married Margaret, daughter of John Spring, Esq., and had, with other issue,

Hugh, married Eleanor, daughter of —— Walsh, Esq., and left a son,

Robert, who succeeded as XIX. Earl of Oxford.

His Lordship, who was a Knight of the Garter, died in 1539, and was succeeded by his son,

John de Vere, XVI. Earl of Oxford, and Lord Great Chamberlain, who, in the 32nd Henry VIII., had livery of those lands which descended to him from Elizabeth, his mother, sister and heir of John Trussel, Esq.; and in the 36th of the same monarch was in the expedition into France, when Bulloigne was besieged and taken. The Earl espoused Margaret, daughter of John Golding, Esq., by whom he had issue,

Edward, his successor,

MARY, married to Peregrine Bertie, XI. Lord Willoughby.

The Earl died in 1562, and was succeeded by his son,

Edward de Vere, XVII. Earl of Oxford, and Lord Great Chamberlain. His Lordship had a command in the fleet equipped to oppose the Armada in 1588. The Earl married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Trentham, Esq., by whom he had an only child,

Henry, his successor.

This Lord Oxford was the first person who introduced perfumes and embroidered gloves into England, and presenting a pair of the latter to Queen Elizabeth, Her Majesty was so pleased with them, that she had her picture painted with those gloves on. His Lordship lived to an advanced age, and dying in 1604, was succeeded by his son,

Henry de Vere, XVIII. Earl of Oxford, and Lord Great Chamberlain. His Lordship died s. p. in 1625, at the siege of Breda, in the Netherlands, where he had the command of a regiment, when his honours devolved upon his cousin (refer to descendants of Aubrey, 2nd son of John, XV. Earl),

Robert de Vere, as XIX. Earl of Oxford. In the 2nd Charles I. there was great controversy between this Robert, and Robert Bertie, then Lord Willoughby, in consequence of the latter claiming in right of his mother, Mary, daughter of John, XVI. Earl of Oxford, and sister and heiress of Edward, XVII. Earl, the Earldom of Oxford, and the Great Chamberlainship of England. The Judges gave their opinion, however, in Parliament, "that the Earldom was well descended upon the heir male." As to the office of Great Chamberlain, the Judges decided for the heir general, Lord Willoughby. The Earl of Oxford married a Dutch lady, Beatrix Van Hemmena, by whom he left at his decease, in 1632 (falling at the siege of Maestricht, where he commanded a regiment), an only surviving child, his successor,

Aubrey de Vere, XX. Earl of Oxford, K.G. This nobleman, at the decease of his father, was but 6 years of age. During the civil wars he espoused the Royal cause, and

Lineage of de Vere, Earls of Oxford.—Burke's Extinct Peerage, p. 541.

suffered much in consequence, but after the restoration, he was sworn of the Privy Council, made a Knight of the Garter, and appointed Lord Lieutenant of the county of Essex.

The Earl died in 1702 (having acquiesced in the expulsion of the Royal House, which he had previously so zealously upheld), and, leaving no male issue, the very ancient Earldom of Oxford, which had passed through twenty generations, became extinct.

Elizabeth Montagu.

SIR EDWARD MONTAGU, K.B., who was elevated to the peerage, 29th June, 1621, as Baron Montagu, of Boughton. His Lordship married first Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir John Jeffries, Knt., Chief Baron of the Exchequer, by whom he had an only daughter,

Burke's Extinct Peerage, pp. 363, 364.

ELIZABETH, who married Robert Bertie, 1. Earl of Lindsey, K.G.

Martha Cockain.

SIR WILLIAM COCKAIN, Knt., married Mary, daughter of Richard Morris, Esq., of London, by whom he had issue, Burke's Extinct Peerage, p. 6.1.

Charles, his successor, who was elevated to the peerage of Ireland, on the 11th August, 1642, in the dignity of Viscount Cullen.

MARTHA, married first to John Ramsay, Earl of Holdernesse; and secondly to Montagu Bertie, II. Earl of Lindsey, K.G.

Elizabeth Wharton.

Lineage of Wharton, Barons and Earl- Wharton, Marquisses and Dukes of Wharton. Barony by Writ of Summons, dated 30th January, 1545, 36 Henry VIII. Creation by Letters Patent, Earldom 1706, Marquessate 1715, Dukedom 1718.—Burke's Extinct Peerage, p. 570.

OF this family, which derived its surname from "a fair lordship" situated upon the river Eden, and was of great antiquity in the county of Westmoreland, was

Sir Thomas Wharton, Knt., Governor of the town and Castle of Carlisle, who, in the 34th of Henry VIII., assisted by Sir William Musgrave, at the head of only 300 men, gallantly resisted an incursion of the Scots, put them to the rout, and made prisoners of the Earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, with several other personages of note. In two years after he marched into Scotland with the Lord Dacre, and was at the taking of Dumfries; for which, and other eminent services, he was summoned to Parliament as Baron Wharton, on the 30th January, 1545. In the 1st of Philip and Mary, his Lordship was constituted Warden of the Middle Marches, and the next year he was made General Warden of all the Marches towards Scotland, and Governor of Berwick. His Lordship married Eleanor, daughter of Bryan Stapleton, Esq., and had issue,

Thomas Wharton, II. Baron. His Lordship espoused Lady Anne Devereux, daughter of Robert, Earl of Essex, and had issue,

Philip Wharton, III. Baron. This nobleman married Lady Frances Clifford, daughter of Henry, Earl of Cumberland, and had issue,

Thomas (Sir), married Lady Philadelphia Carey, daughter of Robert, Earl of Monmouth, and dying before his father, left two sons,

Philip, successor to his grandfather, and

Thomas.

Lineage of Wharton, Barons Wharton. Burke's Extinct Peerage, pp 570—572.

His Lordship died in 1625, and was succeeded by his grandson,

Philip Wharton, IV. Baron. This nobleman married first Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Rowland Wandesford, Knt., of Pickhay, and had an only daughter,

ELIZABETH, who married Robert Bertie, III. Earl of Lindsey.

His Lordship espoused, secondly, Jane, daughter of Arthur Goodwin, Esq., and had two sons and four daughters,

1. Thomas, his successor.

2. Goodwin.

1. Anne, married to William Carr.

2. Margaret, married to Major Dunch.

3. Mary, married to Sir Charles Kemeys, Bart.

4. Philadelphia, married to Sir George Lockhart, and secondly to Captain John Ramsay.

Lord Wharton died in 1696 and was succeeded by his son,

Thomas Wharton, V. Baron. This nobleman was created by Queen Anne, by letters patent, 1706, Earl Wharton. His Lordship was advanced, in 1715, to the dignity of Marquess of Wharton. His Lordship espoused Lucy, daughter of Adam Loftus, Lord Lisburn, and had,

Philip, his successor.

The Marquess died in 1715, and was succeeded by his only son,

Philip Wharton, VI. Baron, and II. Marquess, who was created Duke of Wharton on the 20th January, 1718. His Grace retired into Spain, openly adopted the colours of the Chevalier, was a volunteer in the Spanish army before Gibraltar in 1727, and was attainted by Parliament in the following year. He died s. p. in 1731.

Mary Wynn.

THIS eminent family deduces male descent through their immediate ancestor, Rhodri, Lord of Anglesey, younger son of Owen Gwynedd, Prince of North Wales, from Anarawd, King of North Wales, eldest son of Rhodri Mawr, King of Wales. This last Monarch, the descendant of a long line of regal ancestors, succeeded to the crown of Powys on the demise, in 843, of his father, Mervyn Vryeh, King of Powys, and by inheritance and marriage acquired the Kingdoms of North Wales and South Wales. He was slain A.D. 876, and left, by Angharad his wife, sister and heiress of Gwgan ap Meuric, Lord of Cardigan, 3 sons,

Lineage of Wynn of Gwydyr, Baronets. Creation 1611. Extinct 1719.—Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1397.

1. Anarawd ap Rhodri Mawr, of whose line we have to treat.
2. Cadell ap Rhodri Mawr, King of South Wales, ancestor of the Sovereigns of South Wales.
3. Mervyn ap Rhodri Mawr, King of Powys, who died A.D. 900; progenitor of the Sovereigns of Powys.

The eldest son,

I. Anarawd ap Rhodri Mawr, King of North Wales, died in 913, and was succeeded by his son,

II. Idwal Voel, King of North Wales, who was slain, in 940, fighting against the Anglo-Danes. By his cousin, Avandreg, daughter of Mervyn, King of Powys, Idwal left, with other issue, an elder son,

III. Meuric ap Idwal Voel, who was taken prisoner in the defeat sustained in 977, and deprived of his eyes by Iago, who suffered him to languish in prison, where he died, leaving a son,

Lineage of Wynn of Gwydyr, Baronets — Burke's Peerage, for 1882, pp. 1397, 1398.

IV. Idwal ap Meuric, who was in 992 raised by the people to his hereditary throne of North Wales, of which he had been dispossessed by Meredyth ap Owen, King of Powys. In the following year, Swane, a Danish Chieftain, landed in North Wales; and Idwal in resisting him was slain. His only son,

V. Iago ap Idwal, excluded from the throne by Llewelyn ap Seisyllt, husband of Angharad, Queen of Powys, was restored in 1021, on the decease of that Prince. Iago ap Idwal, who was slain in 1037, in a battle fought between him and Griffith, King of Powys, son of Llewelyn ap Seisyllt, left an only son,

VI. Cynan ap Iago, excluded from the throne by Griffith ap Llewelyn, who also usurped the kingdom of South Wales. Cynan ap Iago, after two gallant and unsuccessful attempts to recover his crown, died, leaving an eldest son,

VII. Griffith ap Cynan, who, after several ineffectual endeavours to reinstate himself in his dominions, which had been usurped by Trahaern ap Caradoc, formed an alliance in 1079 with Rhys ap Tewdwr, Prince of North Wales, for the vindication of the rightful succession. The two Princes met Trahaern on the mountain of Carno, where an action ensued, which terminated in the defeat and death of the usurper, and the restoration of Griffith and Rhys. Griffith ap Cynan died in 1136, at the age of 82, and lies buried on the south side of the great altar in the Cathedral of Bangor, having reigned 57 years. This Monarch married Angharad, daughter of Owen ap Edwin, Lord of Tegaingl, and had issue. Griffith ap Cynan was succeeded in the throne by his eldest son,

VIII. Owen Gwynedd ap Griffith, Prince of North Wales, a chivalrous and distinguished Monarch, who, after a popular reign of 32 years, died in December 1169. Owen Gwynedd (who bore, Vert, 3 eagles displayed, in fesse, or) married twice; 1st, Gwladys, daughter of Llowarch ap Trahaern, Lord of Pembroke, and was, by her, father of

Iorwerth Drwyndwn ap Owen Gwynedd; excluded from the throne by his brother David, son of Owen Gwynedd, by his second marriage. He married the Princess Margaret, daughter of Madoc, Prince of Powys, and was father of an only son,

Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, surnamed The Great, who, in 1194, demanded and obtained, without struggle, his hereditary crown of North Wales from his uncle David ap Owen Gwynedd. This Monarch, after an eventful reign of 56 years, died in 1240. His grandson,

Llewelyn ap Griffith, the last native Sovereign Prince of Wales recognised by the English Monarchs, was slain at Builth, in the valley of the Wye, 11th December, 1282.

Owen Gwynedd ap Griffith married secondly, Christian, daughter of Grono ap Owen ap Edwin, Lord of Tegaingl, and had by her a second son,

IX. Rhodri ap Owen Gwynedd, Lord of Anglesey, a Prince of great power and authority, who married Agnes, daughter of Rhys ap Griffith ap Rhys ap Tewdwr Mawr, King of South Wales, and had,

X. Thomas ap Rhodri, Lord of Friw Llwyd, who married Margaret, daughter of Einion ap Seisyllt, Lord of Merioneth, and was father of

XI. Caradoc ap Thomas, Lord of Friw Llwyd, who, by Eva his wife, daughter of Gwyn ap Griffith ap Beli, had issue,

XII. Griffith ap Caradoc, Lord of Friw Llwyd, who married Lenki, daughter of Llowarch Vaughan ap Llowarch Goch ap Llowarch Holbwrch, and was father of

XIII. David ap Griffith, Lord of Friw Llwyd, whose wife was Eva, daughter and heir of Griffith Vaughan ap Griffith of Penyfed in Efionydd. Of the issue of this marriage, the third son,

XIV. Howel ap David, married Efa, daughter and co-heir of Ievan ap Howel, of Henllys in Cefn-y-fam, derived from Collwyn ap Tangno, Lord of Efionydd, and had, Lineage of Wynn of Gwydyr, Baronets.—Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 1398

XV. Meredith ap Howel, who was living 26th Edward III. He married Morvydd, daughter of Ievan ap David ap Trahayarn Goch, of the Royal line of South Wales, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

XVI. Robert ap Meredith, who married, aged 80, Angharad, daughter of David ap Llewelyn of Cefn Melgoed, and was father of

XVII. Ievan ap Robert, who married Catherine, daughter of Rhys ap Howel Vychan, and had a son,

XVIII. Meredith ap Ievan, who purchased Gwydyr from David ap Howel Coytmore, and died 1525. By his first wife, Alice, daughter of William ap Griffith ap Robin, he had a son,

XIX. John Wynne ap Meredith, of Gwydyr, co. Caernarvon, who died in 1559. He married Elen Lloyd, daughter of Moris ap John ap Meredith, of Clenennicy, and by her had, with other issue, an elder son,

XX. Morris Wynn, of Gwydyr, who married Jane, daughter of Sir Richard Bulkeley, of Beaumaris, Knt., and was father of,

XXI. Sir John Wynn, of Gwydyr, created a Baronet in 1611; the well-known author of The History of the Gwydyr Family. Sir John married Sidney, daughter of Sir William Gerrard, Chancellor of Ireland, and had issue,

1. Richard,
2. Owen,
6. William Wynn, who married Jane, daughter and heiress of Thomas Lloyd, of Gwern-y-Brechtyn, and had issue,
   Sidney Wynn (his heiress), married Edward Thelwall, Esq., of Plas y-Ward, and had issue,
   Jane Thelwall (her heiress), married Sir William Williams, II. Bart., M.P., of Llanforda, and was the mother of
   Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, III Bart., M.P., who succeeded to the seat of Wynnstay, and other estates, under the will of Sir John Wynn, Bart., and assumed, in consequence, the additional surname and arms of Wynn. He married Frances, daughter of George Shakerley, Esq., and was succeeded by his son, P. 1397.
   Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, IV. Bart., M.P., married Charlotte, daughter of the Right Hon. George Grenville, by whom he left issue,
   Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, V. Bart., M.P., married Lady Henrietta-Antonia Clive, daughter of Edward, I. Earl of Powis, and by her had issue,
   Watkin, present Bart.,
   Sir Watkin died 6 Jan. 1840, and was succeeded by his eldest son
   Sir Watkin Williams Wynn of Wynnstay, VI. Bart., M.P.
8. Henry Wynn, had issue, P. 1398.
   John (of whom hereafter as Sir John Wynn, V. Bart.).

Sir John Wynn died 1 March, 1626, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

XXII. Sir Richard Wynn of Gwydyr, II. Bart., who dying s. p. in 1649, was succeeded by his brother,

XXII. Sir Owen Wynn of Gwydyr, III. Bart., who married Grace, daughter of Hugh Williams, of Weeg, and died about 1660, leaving a son and successor,

XXIII. Sir Richard Wynn of Gwydyr, IV. Bart., who married Sarah, daughter of Sir Thomas Myddelton, of Chirk Castle, Bart., and had an only daughter, (his heiress),

MARY WYNN, who married Robert Bertie, I. Duke of Ancaster.

On the death, without male issue, of Sir Richard Wynn, he was succeeded in the Baronetcy by his cousin,

Sir John Wynn, of Watstay, V. Bart., who married Jane, daughter and heir of Eyton Evans, of Watstay (now Wynnstay) co. Denbigh; but died s.p. 7th January, 1719, when the Baronetcy became extinct.

Jane Brownlow.

ONE of the four daughters and co-heirs of Sir John Brownlow, Bart., of Belton, in the county of Lincoln, married Peregrine Bertie, II. Duke of Ancaster. Burke's Extinct Peerage p. 66.

Mary Panton.

DAUGHTER of Thomas Panton, Esq., married Peregrine Bertie, III. Duke of Ancaster. Jacob's Peerage, vol. I. p. 333.

Her Grace the present Duchess of Ancaster, together with the Duchess of Hamilton, were appointed by the King to receive Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz, his future Queen, at Stade, where Her Serene Highness arrived on the 22nd of August, 1761. On the 7th of September they had the pleasure of seeing their Royal Mistress landed safe at Harwich, and had the honour of attending her to St. James's the day following, where the Duchess of Ancaster assisted at the Royal Nuptials, in quality of Mistress of the Robes, to which place she had been previously appointed by the King.

LORD GWYDYR AND HIS TWO SISTERS.

Peter Burrell, I. Lord Gwydyr.

Lineage of Burrell, Barons Gwydyr. Creation by letters patent 1796 — Burke's Peerage for 1882, p. 692.

BRYDGE'S COLLINS, vol. VIII. p. 196, deduces this family from

Radulphus de Burrell, who married, 1325, Sermonda, daughter and co-heir of Sir Walter Woodland, and obtained thereby a considerable estate in the county of Devon, where he seated himself. From this Radulphus descended John Burrell, who furnished (at his own expense) in 1414, a ship, 20 men at arms, and 40 archers for the war in France. He was direct ancestor of

Peter Burrell, Esq., of Cuckfield, co. Sussex, who settled at Langley Park, Beckenham, Kent, 1684. He married Isabella, daughter of John Merrik, Esq., of Stubbers, and had issue,

Peter, his successor.

Merrik, created a Baronet 15 July, 1766, with remainder to Peter Burrell, of Beckenham. Sir Merrik died s. p. 1787.

The elder son,

Peter Burrell, Esq., of Beckenham, M.P., married Amy, daughter of Hugh Raymond, Esq., and had,

Peter, who married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of John Lewis, Esq., and left an only son,

Peter.

Mr. Burrell, of Langley Park, Beckenham, died 16 April, 1756, and was succeeded by his grandson,

Sir Peter Burrell, who succeeded to the Baronetcy of his great-uncle, Sir Merrik Burrell,

The Honourable Clementina Drummond.

Lineage of Drummond, Barons Drummond, Earls of Perth in the Peerage of Scotland. Baron Perth, Baron Drummond of Stobhall in the Peerage of England. Scotch Barony 1487, Earldom 1605, English Baronies 1797.—Douglas Peerage, pp. 547-554. Burke's Extinct Peerage, p 733.

The family of Drummond has been always ranked amongst the most ancient and illustrious names of the Scotch nation, highly distinguished by a long train of worthy ancestors, no less remarkable for the noble alliances they made, and the dignities conferred upon them, than for personal merit.

They have the honour to be several times sprung from the Royal House of Stewart, and can boast what few subjects can do, that most of the crowned heads in Europe are descended from them, as will clearly appear by the following memoirs.

The traditional account of their origin, handed down to us by several good historians, is,

I. That an Hungarian gentleman named Mauricius, or Maurice, a son of George, a younger son of Andrew, King of Hungary, had the command of the ship in which Edgar Atheline, the rightful heir to the English Crown, his mother Agatha, and his sisters, the Princesses Margaret and Christian, were embarked, in their return from England to Hungary. They were overtaken by a storm, driven on the coast of Scotland, and landed in the Firth of Forth, at a place which to this day retains the name of St. Margaret's Hope, so called after Princess Margaret, who became Queen to King Malcolm III., called Canmore, and is well known by the name of St. Margaret.

Lineage of Drummond, Earls of Perth — Douglas Peerage, pp. 548-550.

This Maurice, being a man of parts and merit, was highly esteemed by King Malcolm, who, to induce him to settle in Scotland, conferred many favours upon him, and gave him considerable possessions in the shires of Dumbarton and Stirling, particularly the lands of Rosencath, Cardross, Auchindown, the lands and parish of Drymen or Drummond, which last afterwards became the chief title and surname of the family. He also made him Seneschal or Steward of Lennox, and assigned him for his armorial bearing three bars wavy, or undy, gules, in memory of his having been the happy conductor of Her Majesty's safe landing in Scotland.

The Queen also bestowed some marks of her esteem upon him, and, for his good services, gave him one of her Maids of Honour in marriage.

By her he had a son named,

II. Malcolm, of whom all the Drummonds in Scotland are descended.

He left a son,

III. Maurice, who succeeded him, and was father of

IV. John, his heir, who had a son and successor,

V. Sir Malcolm Drymen or Drummond. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

VI. Malcolm Drummond, married Ada, daughter of Maldwin III., Earl of Lennox, and was succeeded by his son,

VII. Malcolm Drummond. He was succeeded by his son,

VIII. Sir John Drummond, who was a man of great parts, and a strenuous defender of the liberties of his country; and though compelled to swear allegiance to King Edward I. when he had overrun Scotland, anno 1296, yet we find him carried prisoner to England by the same Prince, for his adhering to the Brucian interest, anno 1297.

However, he soon afterwards obtained liberty to return to Scotland, upon his finding bail to come back to England, with horses, arms, &c., to assist King Edward in his wars against France. He married a daughter of Walter Stewart, Earl of Menteith. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

IX. Sir Malcolm Drummond. He made a great figure in the reign of King Robert Bruce, to whom he was a firm and steady friend, and immediately after the battle of Bannockburn, obtained from that great Prince, for his good and faithful services, a grant of several lands in Perthshire, 1315: and perhaps it is no improbable conjecture, that the caltrops were then first added by way of copartment to his coat of arms, as they were used on that memorable occasion, with great success, against the English horse. He married a daughter of Sir Patrick Graham of Kincardine, by whom he had a son and successor,

X. Sir Malcolm Drummond, a man of singular worth and merit. He was concerned in all the noble efforts that were made by the Loyalists in the minority of King David Bruce, in defence of the liberties of their country; on which account he suffered many hardships. Sir Malcolm was either slain at the battle of Durham, anno 1346, or died immediately thereafter, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

XI. Sir John Drummond, a man of a noble spirit, and highly esteemed by King David. He maintained a long and troublesome controversy with the House of Menteith, which proved fatal to several of that noble family, but was at last compromised by the King's command, very honourably for Sir John. The arbiters were Robert, Lord High Steward of Scotland, and Earl of Strathearn, afterwards King Robert II., the Earls of Douglas and Angus, Sir Walter Murray of Tullibardine, Sir Archibald Campbell of Lochow, and Sir Colin his son, before the two Lords Justiciars of Scotland, Sir Robert Erskine, and Sir

Hugh Eglington, who, having met on the banks of the Forth, passed sentence, to which the parties seals were appended, 1st May, 1360.

Lineage of Drummond. Earls of Perth — Douglas Peerage, pp. 550-552.

By this indenture he gives up several of his lands in Dumbartonshire, on a promise from the King of other lands of greater value in Perthshire; and, in consequence of this it was, that he got so large a share of the Montefex estate: for, having married Mary, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Sir William de Montefex Justiciar of Scotland, and head or chief of a great and most ancient family, with her he got the lands and Baronies of Cargill, Stobhall, Kineardin, Auchterarder, &c.

By her he had

Sir Malcolm his heir,

Sir John, who carried on the line of this family,

Annabella, a lady of the most exquisite beauty, and most distinguished merit, who had the honour of being married to Robert III., King of Scotland. By him she was mother of King James I., who, besides his son, King James II., had six daughters, four whereof were married to foreign Princes.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

XII. Sir Malcolm Drummond, who, dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother,

XII. Sir John Drummond. He was one of the greatest men of his time, and was Justiciar of Scotland, while his elder brother was alive. This appears by his pronouncing sentence in a very remarkable case, viz. Sir Alexander Moray of Abercairny and Ogilvie having accidentally, and without any premeditated design, slain a gentleman of the name of Spalding, he pled his privilege of his being nearly allied to the clan MacDuff, and having proven his propinquity, was assoilzied by Sir John Drummond, at a Court of Justiciary held at Foulis, 10th May, 1391. He married Lady Elizabeth Sinclair, daughter of Henry, Earl of Orkney. He died anno 1428, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

XIII. Sir Walter Drummond of that Ilk, Lord of Cargill and Stobhall. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir William Ruthven, and by her had,

Sir Malcolm.

He died anno 1455, and was succeeded by his son,

XIV. Sir Malcolm Drummond, Lord of that Ilk. He married Mariota, daughter of Sir David Murray. He died anno 1470, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

XV. Sir John Drummond Lord of that Ilk. He purchased from Sir Maurice Drummond of Concraig the Stewarty and Coronership of the Earldom of Strathearn, upon which he got a Charter under the Great Seal, anno 1474.

In August, 1484, he was appointed by King James III. one of the Ambassadors Extraordinary to the Court of England.

Sir John, having acquitted himself in his negotiations, greatly to the satisfaction of his Majesty and the whole nation, was, at the next Parliament, raised to the dignity of the peerage by the title of Lord Drummond, on the 14th January, 1487.

The Lord Drummond was appointed one of the Privy Council to King James IV. and Justiciar of Scotland, anno 1489.

He obtained a license under the Great Seal, to build a castle and fortalice, and built a most noble and stately castle, and gave it the name of Drummond Castle, which has ever since been one of the chief seats of the family.

He married Lady Elizabeth Lindsay, daughter of David, Earl of Crawfurd, by whom he had,

William, Master of Drummond, who carried on the line of this family.

Lineage of Drummond, Earls of Perth.—Douglas Peerage, pp. 552-554.

1st daughter, Margaret. She was greatly beloved by King James IV. who was contracted to her, and would have married her, had not his Counsellors and the great men of the State, interposed, and taken her away, to make room for a daughter of England.

2. Elizabeth Drummond, married to George, Master of Angus, son and apparent heir of Archibald V. Earl of Angus. Her grand-daughter, Lady Margaret Douglas, was mother of Henry, Lord Darnley, father of King James VI. of whom the Kings of Britain, France, Spain, Prussia, the Emperor of Germany, &c., &c., are descended.

The Lord Drummond died in an advanced age, anno 1519.

XVI. William Master of Drummond, son and apparent heir of John Lord Drummond, married Lady Isabel Campbell, daughter of Colin, 1. Earl of Argyle, by whom he had,

Walter, also designed Master of Drummond.

This William, Master of Drummond, was a man of parts and spirit; but being at variance with the Murrays, who had openly defied him, and had actually gone in a forcible manner to draw teinds on the Drummonds' lands in the parish of Monivaird, he marched with his followers in order to prevent them, and being accidentally joined by Duncan Campbell, Captain of Dunstaffnage, who had come down from Argyleshire with a party of his men to revenge the death of his father-in-law, Drummond of Menie, whom, with his two sons, some of the Murrays had lately killed; upon their approach the Murrays fled to the Kirk of Monivaird for refuge, whither they were also followed by the Drummonds' party. The Master being satisfied with driving them off the field, was returning home, when a shot, fired from the Kirk, unluckily killed one of the Dunstaffnage men, which so enraged the Highlanders, that they immediately set fire to the Kirk, and it being covered with heather, was soon consumed to ashes, and all within it burnt to death. The Master of Drummond was immediately apprehended, and sent prisoner to Stirling, where he was tried; and though he pled innocence, as having no hand in the burning the Church, yet being head of the party, and no favourite at Court, he was condemned and executed, anno 1511. However, this variance betwixt the Drummonds and the Murrays was made up soon thereafter.

XVII. Walter, eldest son of William the Master, grandson and apparent heir of John, Lord Drummond, married Lady Elizabeth Graham, daughter of William, Earl of Montrose and died anno 1518, leaving issue a son,

XVIII. David, who succeeded his great-grandfather anno 1519, and was II. Lord Drummond. He was retoured heir to him, tanquam legitimus et propinquior hæres quondam Johannis Domini Drummond, sui proavi, February 17th, 1520.

He kept himself pretty free of the parties and cabals that were so frequent in the troublesome reign of Queen Mary; but when he saw her like to be reduced to great difficulties, he was one of those noble Loyalists who entered into a solemn bond of association, to stand by and defend her Majesty against all mortals, &c.

He married, Lilias, daughter of William, II. Lord Ruthven, by whom he had,

Patrick, his heir.

This worthy Lord died anno 1571, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

XIX. Patrick, III. Lord Drummond, who, having been educated in his mother's principles, embraced the reformed religion, and after Queen Mary was a prisoner in England, he joined the King's party, and came entirely into the Court measures.

He married Lady Elizabeth Lindsay, daughter of David, Earl of Crawfurd, by whom he had,

1. James, Lord Drummond, afterwards Earl of Perth.
2. John, who succeeded his brother.

Lineage of Drummond, Earls of Perth.—Douglas Peerage, p. 551.

He died before the year 1600, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

XX. James, IV. Lord Drummond, a man of extraordinary natural endowments, improved by a polite and learned education. After having spent a considerable time in France, and acquired the easy manners and address of that elegant nation, he returned to Britain, where he soon distinguished himself at the Court of King James VI. by his graceful behaviour, and shining parts. He was sent Ambassador to Philip III. of Spain together with the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, in order to settle the ratification of the treaty of peace betwixt the two nations, and to endeavour to reconcile matters betwixt Spain and Holland; and having acquitted himself in that negotiation with dexterity and success, his Majesty, immediately upon his return, was pleased to dignify him with the title of Earl of Perth, by patent, to him and his heirs male whatsoever, dated 4th March, 1605. But these promising appearances, that portended such honour to his family and country, were soon blasted by an untimely death, which carried him off in the very bloom of his years, anno 1611.

He having no sons, his estates of honours devolved upon his brother,

XX. John Drummond, II. Earl of Perth, who got Charters under the Great Seal, Johanni Comiti de Perth, Domino Drummond et Stobhall, of many lands and Baronies betwixt the years 1612 and 1616.

Though this noble Lord was appointed a Privy Councillor for life, by the Parliament in 1641, yet he was a man of steady loyalty, and a most faithful subject to the King.

He joined the great Montrose, was taken prisoner at the battle of Philiphaugh; was, with his son, Lord Drummond, fined by Oliver Cromwell, in the sum of five thousand pounds sterling, anno 1654, and suffered many other hardships on account of his attachment to the Royal Family.

He married Lady Jean Ker, daughter of Robert, Earl of Roxburgh, by whom he had,

James.

He died anno 1662, and was succeeded by his son,

XXI. James Drummond, III. Earl of Perth, who joined Montrose in 1645, and was taken prisoner at Philiphaugh. He married Lady Anne Gordon, daughter of George, 2nd Marquess of Huntly, and by her had,

Burke's Extinct Peerage, p. 733.

James, his heir.

XXII. John Drummond was created Earl of Melfort by James II., by patent to the heirs of his 2nd marriage, dated 12th August, 1686. He married, 1st Sophia, daughter and sole heiress of Margaret Laudin of that Ilk (heiress of that ancient family) by her husband Robert Maitland, 2nd brother of John, Duke of Lauderdale, by whom he had,

Douglas Peerage, pp. 553, 554.

Robert, who carried on the line of the family.

The Earl of Melfort married 2ndly, Euphemie, daughter of Sir Thomas Wallace, and died in 1714.

XXIII. Robert, son of John Earl of Melfort's 1st marriage, succeeding to his mother's estate, retained the name of Laudin, as representative of that most ancient and illustrious family.

He married Anne, daughter of Sir James Inglis Bart., by whom he had,

John, his heir,

James, of whom afterwards.

He died anno 1716, and was succeeded by his son,

XXIV. John who, dying unmarried, anno 1735, was succeeded by his brother,

XXIV. James Laudin of whom afterwards as heir male to Edward Drummond, VI. Duke of Perth.

He died anno 1675, and was succeeded by his son,

Lineage of Drummond, Earls of Perth.—Douglas Peerage, pp. 552, 553.

XXII. James Drummond, IV. Earl of Perth, a man of fine natural parts, great probity and honour; who having got an education suitable to his noble birth, became one of the most accomplished men of his time.

He was in great favour with King Charles II. who appointed him one of his Privy Council, anno 1678, Lord Justice General, anno 1682, and Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, 23rd June, 1684.

At the Revolution, when King James went over to France, the mob began to commit great disorders in Scotland. The Chancellor being obnoxious to them, on account of his religion, was advised by his friends (and indeed it was his own inclination) to follow his Majesty. He accordingly, (with his lady and family) embarked in a small vessel at Burnt-island, but was pursued by a long-boat from Kirkcaldy, full of armed men. His Lordship, being noways provided for such an attack, was soon forced to surrender. He and his Lady were plundered of all they had by the ruffians, and brought back. The Chancellor was imprisoned in the common tolbooth of Kirkcaldy, and most barbarously used.

He was afterwards carried to the Castle of Stirling where he remained prisoner near four years, and was at last set at liberty upon his promising to transport himself beyond seas, without any reason being given for his being so long confined.

He first went to Rome, where he stayed about two years, when his old Master sent for him. He came to him at St. Germains in France, where his Majesty heaped all the honours and favours upon him that were in his power to bestow. He created him Duke of Perth (the patent is said to be to his heirs male), first Lord of the Bed-chamber, Knight of the Garter, and Chamberlain to the Queen. He also appointed him Governor to his son.

He married, 1st, Lady Jane Douglas, daughter of William, Marquess of Douglas, and by her had,

James, Lord Drummond.

He married, 2ndly, Lilias, daughter of Sir James Drummond of Machany, by whom he had,

John, of whom hereafter as V. Duke of Perth.

He married, 3rdly, Lady Mary Gordon, daughter of Lewis, Marquess of Huntly, by whom he had,

Edward, of whom hereafter as VI. Duke of Perth.

Burke's Extinct Peerage, p. 733.

The Duke of Perth died at St. Germains, 11th March, 1716. The titles of Earl of Perth and Lord Drummond became dormant at his death, his eldest son having been attainted.

XXIII. James Drummond who assumed the title of II. Duke of Perth, who accompanied James II. in the expedition to Ireland, 1690, engaged in the rising of 1715, and was attainted by Act of Parliament. He effected his escape to France in 1716. He married Lady Jean Gordon, only daughter of George, I. Duke of Gordon, and had,

James, his heir,

John, of whom hereafter as IV. Duke of Perth.

XXIV. James Drummond, who assumed the title of III. Duke of Perth, who had the family estate conveyed to him by his father, 28th August, 1713, whereby it was saved from forfeiture. He joined the standard of Charles Edward in 1745, was his 1st Lieutenant-General at the battle of Preston, and commanded at the sieges of Carlisle and Stirling. After the defeat at Culloden, he escaped to the coast of Moidart, where he embarked for France, but died on the passage, 11th May, 1746, without issue.

By an Act of Parliament it was declared, that all persons that were concerned in the Rebellion, and did not surrender before the month of July, should be deemed convicts for high treason. But as this James died before the limited time, the attainder did not take place against him: however it fell with all its weight upon his brother and heir, Lineage of Drummond, Earls of Perth — Douglas Peerage, p. 551.

XXIV. John Drummond, who assumed the title of IV. Duke of Perth, who was embarked in the same cause, and in his person the whole estate of Perth was forfeited to the Crown. This John entered into the service of the King of France; and when he had passed through several gradations, got the command of a regiment, which he raised himself, and was named the Royal Scotch. He had the same warmth and affection for the interest of the house of Stewart that his brother and father had, and commanded the French piquets that were sent over in 1745, in support of that cause. After the defeat at Culloden, he made his escape to France in the same ship in which his brother embarked. After the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, he was appointed a Major-General, when lying ill of a fever, of which he soon thereafter died in 1747. He also leaving no issue, the representation devolved upon his uncle,

XXIII. John Drummond, who assumed the title of V. Duke of Perth. He died without issue anno 1757. The next in succession was his brother,

XXIII. Edward Drummond, who assumed the title of VI. Duke of Perth, died s.p. 7th February, 1760. Burke's Extinct Peerage, p. 533.

XXIV. James Lundin, of Lundin, (refer to John Drummond, Earl of Melfort, 2nd son of James, III. Earl of Perth,) was served nearest heir male and of provision to Edward Drummond, styled Duke of Perth. He married Lady Rachael Bruce, daughter of Thomas, VII. Earl of Kincardine; and dying at Lundin, 29th June, 1769, was succeeded by his son,

XXV. James Drummond, who obtained possession of the estate of Perth in 1785, and was created a British Peer, as Lord Perth, Baron Drummond of Stobhall, to him and the heirs male of his body, 14th October, 1797. His Lordship married the Hon. Clementina Elphinstone, daughter of Charles, X. Lord Elphinstone; and dying 2nd July, 1800 (when his title expired), left an only daughter and heir,

Clementina Drummond, who married in 1807 Peter Robert Burrell (took the surname of Drummond in 1807, and in 1829 the additional surname of Willoughby instead of that of Burrell), XIX. Lord Willoughby. Lodge's Genealogy of the British Peerage, 1832, p. 390.

Gilbert Heathcote, I. Lord Aveland.

Lineage of Heathcote, Baron Aveland. Creation by letters patent 1856.—Burke's Peerage for 1882, pp. 66-67.

I. Gilbert Heathcote, Esq. (eldest son of Gilbert Heathcote, Esq., an alderman of Chesterfield, by Anne, daughter of Thomas Dickens, Esq.), having been one of the projectors of the Bank of England, an alderman, representative in Parliament, and Lord Mayor of the City of London, received the honour of knighthood from Queen Anne, and was created a Baronet 17 January, 1732-3. Sir Gilbert married Hester, daughter of Christopher Rayner, Esq., by whom he had a son, John. He died 24 January, 1732-3, and was succeeded by his son,

II. Sir John Heathcote, M.P., who married Bridget, daughter of John White, Esq., of Wallingwells, M.P., by whom he had,

Gilbert, M.P., his successor.

Sir John died 5 September, 1759, and was succeeded by his son,

III. Sir Gilbert Heathcote, M.P. for Rutland. This gentleman married Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Hudson, Esq., of Tadworth Court, by whom he had,

Gilbert.

Sir Gilbert died 4 December, 1785, and was succeeded by his son,

IV. Sir Gilbert Heathcote, M.P., who married Lady Sophia, daughter of John Manners, Esq., of Grantham Grange, co. Lincoln, by his wife, Louisa Tollemache, Countess of Dysart, in her own right, by whom he had issue,

Gilbert, created a Peer, as Lord Aveland.

Lineage of Heathcote, Barons Aveland.—Burke's Peerage for 1882, pp. 65-66.

Sir Gilbert died 26 March, 1851, and was succeeded by his son,

V. Sir Gilbert Heathcote, M.P., a distinguished Whig politician, created Baron Aveland of Aveland, co. Lincoln, 26 February, 1856; married 8 October, 1827, Clementina, eldest daughter of Peter Robert, XIX. Lord Willoughby de Eresby, and now, by the termination of the abeyance, Baroness Willoughby de Eresby (see that title).

Lord Aveland, who before his elevation to the peerage was successively M.P. for Boston, for South Lincolnshire, and for Rutland, as well as Lord Lieutenant of Lincolnshire, died 6 September, 1867, and was succeeded by his son,

Gilbert Heathcote Drummond Willoughby, II. Lord Aveland, P.C., late M.P. for Rutland, Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, married 14 July, 1863, Evelyn, 2nd daughter of Charles, X. Marquess of Huntly, and has issue,

Gilbert.

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